

AN  
ACCOUNT  
OF THE  
Affairs of Scotland,

Relating to the  
Revolution in 1688.

As sent to the  
Late King JAMES II. when  
in FRANCE.

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BY  
The Right Honourable the Earl of B—

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*Never before Printed.*

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A Scotchman's Private

LONDON:

Printed for J. B. K. at the Black-Box  
in Pall-Mall.

# Introduction.

**T**H E Publishing such nice Things as the Memorials of Ministers of State, as they are many ways useful and very advantageous to the Publick, so they are of a Nature so particular, as to require some necessary Explanations on behalf of the Editor.

The Memoirs here published are of this kind, the Writer, as is usual in such cases, speaks in the first Person, and treats the Characters of the Persons he writes of, with a Freedom which nothing can excuse.

It is the Editor's Opinion, that this is no Reflection on the Gentlemen named, nor is it published with that Intent. It is no new thing for the Instruments of the late Administration of that Reign, to brand those who

assisted in deposing King *James* and bringing on the Revolution in the most odious and the most opprobrious Terms; this we always esteem'd a Reputation rather than a Reflection; nor have the injur'd Gentlemen fail'd to be Gainers by it, the Scandal of it falling always upon the Authors, not upon the Object.

The Matters treated of here, are such as relate in particular to the carrying on the Jacobite Cause in *Scotland*, and lets us into much of the Secret History of those times immediately after the Revolution, and of the Transactions within Doors, as we may call it, among the Favourers of the late King *James*, and the Reader will be diverted with a great variety of Transactions, and that by Persons who we have seen act in a quite different Sphere since that time, and that with an undisputed Vigour and Fidelity.

Let no Man think that it will lessen our just Esteem for the Characters of the several Persons of the first Rank, to say of them, That they were not at first in the Secret of the Revolution; some had no clear Notions of Transpo-

sing



sing their Allegiance from the Person  
 of the Prince, and stuck closer to the  
 Opinion of the Divine Right of a Suc-  
 cession in the Line than others did:  
 Some struggled with Scruples about the  
 Oath of Allegiance taken to one King,  
 and of its being indissoluble, but by  
 the Death of the King to whom it was  
 Sworn; others were under personal  
 Obligations to the King, and the like;  
 some one thing some another, each Con-  
 sideration, while it lasted, prevented the  
 Person coming in till those Obstacles  
 were removed; and yet we have found  
 by good Experience, that when those  
 Gentlemen had satisfied themselves  
 and come in, they have acted since  
 with all that Fidelity, Usefulness and  
 steady Loyalty that can be imagin'd,  
 and come up to a Zeal equal, if not  
 superior to those who were more early  
 in the Case.

Thus in England the E—— of  
 No——ham and several others pro-  
 tested against King William's coming to  
 the Crown. The late E—— of  
 God——in adhered to King James, and  
 was one of the three who King James  
 sent with Propositions to the Prince of  
 Orange,

*Orange*, to know what were his Demands. His Grace the Duke of *Somerset* was some Years before he came into a full Concurrence with those Times, yet no Man doubts now the Sincerity of all these Noble Persons in the Interest of their Country, and we now see them or most of them in Places of the highest Trust in the Kingdom.

In *Scotland* it was the same thing, nor will all that is said or suggested here of his Grace the Duke of *Archie* and the Lord *Ross* and others, to be able to deface the Records of all the great and illustrious Things which they have since done in the publick Affairs, wherein they have shew'd, and especially at this time, to the present Government, a sincere Zeal and Affection for the Protestant Religion, and for the Laws and Liberties of their Country.

It is no wonder that such Men should be traduced by every Author who writes in the Cause of an Arbitrary and Popish Government, with whom it is not the Crime of these great Persons that they acted or concurred at all; but that they acted no farther, and that

that when they saw their Designs, they abandon'd the Jacobite Interest and came in sincerely and effectually to the Revolution Principle; nay, it may very justly be said of these Men, and of his Grace the Duke of ~~Albany~~ in particular, that the vigorous steps they have taken since that time, even above others, in the Prosecution and Settlement of a Protestant Government, have abundantly made amends to their Country for their not coming so early into those things as some other Men might do.

Upon these accounts it is, that the Publishers of these Memoirs give this necessary Caution, as well to clear themselves from any Reflection in the Publishing, as to guide the Thoughts of the Readers to do justice to the Characters of such Honourable Persons, who they shall find the Author falls upon in this Book, and that they may distinguish between a Jacobite Writer giving a partial and unjust Account of Things and Persons to King *James*, and a faithful Historian stating things to the World as their Consequences make them appear.

In

In the mean time, the Publication of these Memorials will be found very useful, to let us see in what Posture things stood at that time; what the Designs of King *James* and his Party was if they had prevailed; and who they were who carried on those Designs for him; and this, in short, is the true End of the Editors hereof in making them publick.

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and Duty, which I have always been  
and shall be, your most Obedient  
and Affectionate Son, and  
most Faithful Servant,



will be perceived nothing  
and of which I have  
made them thoroughly  
acquainted, and I shall  
in every part of my  
conduct, and in every  
thing I shall do, be  
governed by the  
Wishes of your Majesty,  
and of your most Excellent  
Councils, and of the  
People of Great Britain,  
and of the People of  
Ireland, and of the  
People of Scotland,

A Brief

# ACCOUNT

## OF THE

### State of SCOTLAND, &c.

**I**f this which I humbly  
offer to your Majesty, I  
am far from pretending  
it is an exact Relation of  
all that has happened  
these six unhappy Years.

All I intend is to give you a short  
view of your Affairs in *Scotland* since  
the beginning of the Revolution,  
that your Majesty may know when  
you attempt the recovery of your  
just Rights, whom you may rely on;  
for all these that has kept firm to  
their

their Duty, after so long and severe a Trial, you may safely depend on; and these that appeared at first against you, and now pretends to be in your Interest, having miss'd what they expected by this Revolution, you may be perswaded nothing will ever make them thoroughly so, but a sufficient Force: I shall say nothing in this out of Partiality, nor any thing that is not consistent with my Knowledge, and cannot be denied by these I write of, there being so many Witnesses alive, who can assert the Truth of all I shall offer to give your Majesty an Account of; which I pretend I may do as Justly, tho' not so Correctly, as any of your Majesty's Subjects, who have had the Honour to be intrusted by your Majesty with so much, before this Revolution, or was so deeply concerned in the unsuccessful Attempts that has been made for your Service.

How Discontents and Jealousies began, and disturbed the happy Peace the Nation was in after the Defeat of the Duke of *Monmouth* and Earl of *Argile*: I cannot give your  
Majesty

Majesty so good an account of it, without going a little back, and letting you know the Reasons that were given for them.

The first Symptoms of Discontent appeared in *Scotland* after the Restauration of the King your Brother, was in the Earl of *Murray's* Parliament, for I reckon not the two Tumultuous Risings in the *Western* Fanatick Countries, nor the Jarrings of Duke *Hamilton's* Party, as being nothing National, but to the contrary; for these were rather means to shew the Concern and Affection of all the other parts of the Nation for the King's Interest, wherever that came to be Debated by his few insignificant Enemies.

Never King succeeded to a Crown or Throne more with the Love and Esteem of his Subjects than your Majesty did, generally to all *Scotland*, of all Professions; nor could any thing have disturbed your happy Reign, but the Jealousies and Fears that was industriously spread abroad, as if you had designed, by giving a general Liberty of Conscience, to ruin the Religion then established; if that  
had

had not been too much believed, and the fears of again encouraging by such a Liberty, the Fanaticks, then almost intirely ruined, there would have been few that would have refused to comply with all your Majesty's demands in that Parliament; but the fears in bringing back the Fanatick Party then scattered thro' the World, that were always lying in wait, for every opportunity, to ruin the Monarchy, and all those that were faithful in it, made even your faithfullst Subjects comply but with an unwilling Mind, considering that such a Tolleration would again set up a Party that had cost so much Care, Time and Treasure to destroy.

The Earl of *Murnay*, not succeeding in that Parliament because of these Apprehensions, and his small skill in managing such an Affair, where there were so many Interests to unite your Majesty, dissolved that Parliament, and issued out a Proclamation of Indulgence and Tolleration to all Perswasions.

This put the Episcopal Clergy in such a Rage, that they could not con-

conceal it neither in Discourses nor Pulpits, and the Presbyterians grew so Insolent with it, that the Letter your Majesty wrote to them then assembled at *Edinburgh*, wherein you told them your Predecessors had been severe and ruined several of them, but they might be confident of your Protection against all their Enemies.

This, and the Earl of *Melfort*'s employing *James Stuart* to draw most of the publick Papers sent down, who was known to be a professed and inveterate Enemy to the Crown and your Order, made the Episcopal Clergy at that time say and do many things which afterwards they heartily repented when it was too late; for their dislike of the greatest part of the Nation, and their Jealousy misfortunately meeting with the inveterate Malice of the Presbyterians, gave the greatest Advantage could have been wished for, to the unbounded Ambition of the Prince of *Orange*, for nothing ever made him make so bold an Attempt, but these Divisions, and the Jealousies that were industriously spread abroad, few being satisfied.

B

The

The Episcopal Clergy or Party, out of fear to lose what they had long professed, and tho' the Presbyterians for a few Months first after the getting their Liberty seemed satisfied, yet some grew as Malicious as ever, being disappointed of getting the Government into their Hands as they hoped, and a Revenge on their Enemies.

The Order your Majesty sent down, commanding all in any Office, either Civil or Military, to give up their Commissions, and take up new ones, without taking the Test, this made all Employments liable to several Penalties of the Laws, and occasion'd a great Consternation; But not near to what by another Order, all in Employments were Commanded to take out Remissions for breaking of the Laws, which they had done by your Majesty's Command, by which they thought themselves sufficiently warranted, as may appear by a Letter the Council sent to your Majesty, wherein, not only they, but the Judges gave it as their Opinion, That your Majesty giving a Commission, was sufficient to hinder any being  
liable

liable to the Law, especially considering, that the Penalty was due to your self, but notwithstanding of this Advice, a severe Proclamation was sent down by the Earl of *Melfort*, That all should take out these Remissions in three Months, and pay for them three Pound Sterling to himself, and twenty Pound to S — who was to give them out, and such as did not take them out, to be pursued for Breach of Law, and be rendered incapable for ever, thereafter, of your Mercy, this was thought very hard, even by the Loyallest of your Subjects to be paying for such Remissions, and especially to be giving so much to Mr. *Stuart*, that had but some Months before got a Remission for Plotting and Contriving against your Majesty and Government, and was generally believed at that time, by all that wished well to your Majesty's Government, to be under-hand betraying it; nor has their Apprehensions been false, for since the Revolution he has bragged to Hundreds, that he gave several Advices, designedly to ruin it, and to advance the Interest of his Friends.

When first this Order was read in Council, all were silent; but next Day a Representation was sent up to your Majesty, both by the Council and Secret Committee, to show how inconvenient it would be if such an Order were Proclaimed, nor was there any Man more against it than your *Chancellor*, and those you trusted most.

Your Majesty was pleased on these Representations, to discharge its being pressed; but it gave such bad Impressions of some who was employed, that nothing will ever take it off; and it was generally believed that nothing but your Majesty's own Goodness could have hindered a thing that would have been so advantageous to the Contrivers, tho' dishonourable to all that served you; nothing vexed the Episcopal Clergy more at that time, then to see some Fanaticks put both into Council and Session; but all these Discontents were but like smother'd Fire, until the Birth of the Prince of *Wales*, which afterwards broke out more violently, for after that, several of the Episcopal Clergy were so far  
milled

missed, that they left off in a few  
 Weeks the praying for the Prince of  
*Wales*, and were so apt not only to  
 believe the most calumnious Reports  
 of that time, but to insinuate in  
 their People fears of Popery and Ar-  
 bitrary Government, which did no  
 small Prejudice, and made many that  
 have appeared since of a far diffe-  
 rent Temper, extremely satisfied at  
 the noise of the Prince of *Orange's*  
 coming over; being so weak as to  
 believe he had such an Attempt only  
 to secure the Laws, and relieve them  
 of their Fears; but these Discon-  
 tents of the Episcopal Party, tho'  
 they cannot be justified, yet they  
 proceeded from Jealousies more than  
 from any ill Design after your Ma-  
 jesty's Government; but the Presby-  
 terians being encouraged from their  
 Friends in *England*, and the Rebels  
 who fled into *Holland* growing then  
 more Insolent than ever, being put  
 in hopes again, by another way, of  
 getting intirely the Government in  
 their own Hands, and a Revenge on  
 their Enemies, which was the two  
 things they so long wished to have  
 an opportunity for, but would never  
 have

have attained the same, if the Indulgence granted them, had not brought them together from the *West-Indies*, so that they appeared in far greater numbers than could well have been believed to be yet remaining after so long a tract of Discouragement. They not only were joyned together, but many that never were of that Profession before, joyned with them, as all the discontented of the Nation has ever done since the Revolution, making Religion alway the Pretext of gaining their other Ends.

The Jealousy of the Catholicks did not a little heighten the Discontents of both these Parties likewise, and tho' they were not so afraid of them as of each other, because of their small number, yet with very uneasy Eyes, they beheld them coming into the chief Posts, both in Civil and Military Employments; and the Presbyterians, by the Liberty granted to all, had their share, and were also admitted into Employments which they had never before, but when necessity compelled former Kings; yet they were so far from

from being thankful for it, that both in their Pulpits and Conversation, they openly declared they thought themselves nothing obliged to any Tolleration they had, it being given to introduce the Catholicks, and ruin Protestants among themselves; nor were these Jealousies and Apprehensions only among the Clergy.

For after your Majesty had given Warrant to the Chancellor, Viscount of T——, and my self, to enquire of all the Officers of State, Judges, and Officers of the Army, their Opinion and Consent, for taking off the Penal Laws and Tests; most of them, tho' they consented to it, yet had such a cruel Apprehension of other things farther to be press'd upon them, that it made them extremely uneasie, and the turning out of Sir G—— M—— from being your Advocate, and the Lord *Harriss* and *Edmiston* from the Session, for refusing to consent to what was offer'd, heightened extremely the Humour, for they were esteemed of the greatest Integrity and Learning of that Judicatory, and it seems not without reason, for tho' they were humo-  
rous

fous in that, yet after, and since the Revolution, they have behav'd themselves exactly well, and refus'd all the offers of Imployment which was made them.

Except for these Fears and Jealousies that was spread like a Plague through all the Land, and the too Covetous taking of Money by some of your Servants (but that I will not meddle with, being resolved to say nothing here but what consists with my own knowledge) all other things in the Government were as easie, and managed with as much Justice as was ever known in any Age; for never was a Thesaury and Exchequer more favourable in all sorts of Compositions, which your Majesty allowed us to do; nor was there ever before in the Council or Session more Justice, and quick dispatch of Business, nor Soldiers better Pay'd, and with less trouble in the Country, which the worst of your Enemies must acknowledge.

In this Condition was the Kingdom till September 1688. when your Majesty sent down an Express to  
your

your Secret Committee which consisted of Seven. viz. your Chancellor, M— of A—, V— of T—, Archbishop of Glasgow, Sir George Lockhart, and my self, to let us know you expected an Invasion from Holland, which at first was thought by the generality of the Nation to be absolutely impossible, and only a pretext to raise Money, or draw the Army together for other Designs; which added still to former Jealousies; but these mistaken Fears were quickly suppressed, when they knew of such Preparations as your Majesty was making in England, and we likewise affirmed by Seamen coming daily from Holland of great Preparations there, and noise of a War quickly to break out.

Your Majesty's Council appeared all of them ready and willing to concur in every thing that could be offer'd for making the Nation as capable as could be for serving you, and it seem'd for a time the noise of Foreign War had banished their Jealousies and Fears from among them, and from all quarters of the Country,

try, the Gentlemen and Burgesſes ſent to the Council new offers of Duty; the Militia was ordered to be rais'd and modell'd to a fourth part; and the forty Days pay which the Countrey is obliged to of the whole, would have payed this fourth part fix Months; the Caſtle of *Edinburgh, Sterling, &c.* furniſhed, the Gentry modelled into Troops with Arms and Orders ſent to the Chiefs of the *Highland Clans*, to have their Men in readineſs, which with the ſtanding Forces, would have made a conſiderable Army.

On the firſt notice of the Invaſion, Captain *Mackay*, Nephew to the Major General, was taken up upon Suſpicion of having laid down his Imployment in *Holland* to be the better able to ſerve the Prince of *Orange* in what he intended; which was reaſonable to believe by a Letter found upon him, Written by himſelf to his Uncle, wherein he expreſſed great affection to the Service of the Prince of *Orange*, and deſires his Uncle to let him know, that tho' he had quitted his Service, yet he hoped in the Condition he was now

now in, he could be more useful, which he was willing to do with the hazard of his Life, and that he wanted only to know how he might put his Intention in Execution ; he was Examined by a Secret Committee several Times, but gave his Oath frankly, he knew nothing of any Design, nor meant nothing by these Expressions, but a Compliment to the Prince who had concerned himself in getting him a rich Marriage ; but after the Prince of *Orange's* coming over, he bragged of knowing all the Design, and valued himself for Swearing frankly rather than discover.

There was likewise taken, one *Blackadder* a Doctor of Physick, who was sent over by the banished Lords and Gentlemen in *Holland*, to encourage their Friends, and give them an Account of the Inclinations and Affections of the People to the Prince of *Orange's* Interest ; the only Traffick could be made out against him, for he likewise could disclose nothing, but rather Perjure himself, of what he knew was betwixt L—M—, Son to the M— of A—e, and

one *Murray of Tippermoors* for by a Letter taken on him from *Mr. Murray* to the Lord *Murray*. He told him he had deliver'd his Message to the Prince of *Orange*, who received it very kindly, and desired *Blackadder* to give him an Account Weekly of all that pass'd, and to let him know how the Nation stood affected to the Prince of *Orange*; more might certainly be known from the Doctor, if the M—— of A——, who had been lying in wait from the first noise of the Invasion, for a Pretext to appear Discontent, had not taken this opportunity; He complain'd highly that any who belonged to him should be suspected, and that all the Work made against *Blackadder*, was only designed against his Family; so to satisfy him, the Doctor was no farther meddled with, that he might not have the least Ground, at such a time, to complain; but all this did not satisfy him, for in all Meetings both in Secret Committee and Council, he affected an Air Chagrin and Discontent, tho' to please him we were too Indulgent to his Humours, yet a little while after, pretending  
Sickness,

Sickness, he retir'd into the Country, until he was assured of the Landing of the Prince of *Orange*, and then he returned and acted a part more to the prejudice of your Interest than the most inveterate of your Enemies was then able to do; the chief Reason he gave for his Discontent was, Family Picks betwixt him and the E— of P—, and fears of his doing him ill Deeds; but it was known to all the Nation, that his hopes of advancing his Interest by the Prince of *Orange*, on the Account of his Relation by his Lady, was the chief motion of all his Actions; or at the least, by his seeming discontent with the present Government, he thought he would secure himself of all that your Majesty had bestow'd on him but too prodigally; after he withdrew every thing went on smoothly in Council, and even the *Western* and Fanatick Gentry were contending for Employments in the Militia Troops; but by what afterwards appeared, it was with a Design to betray.

Nor was there any of them more forward in offering his Service than

Sir

Sir J— M—, tho' at the same time he was assisting the Lord Lorn, to borrow a considerable Sum of Money to carry him to *Holland*, the Reason given for borrowing this Money, was to make a present to the Countess of *Melfort*, nor could they have found a pretext that would have past more easily, for it was reasonably believed; otherwise the lending of such a Sum by such disaffected Persons at so Critical a time, could not have mist to be suspected, and his Journey stoped.

One Mr. *Campbel*, who was sent over by the L— S—, to invite him over by Warrant from the Prince of *Orange*, but I believe told little of the Design, tho' Sir *James* bragged after the Revolution of his knowing all, and of his having Messages from the Prince of *Orange*, but was contradicted by all who were intrusted in it, who were few enough; this was the first appearance of Sir J— M—, nor had he any manner of influence except with some few of the most bigotted Fanaticks who had made a Party, and exclaimed against the rest of their Profession for accept-

accepting of the Indemnity, or taking any Favour from the Government; nor would any thing please them, nor could any six of them agree, being left to their Discretion; but not withstanding these Divisions, all Parties kept within bounds until the calling away of the standing Forces, when the Government was left bare and at the Discretion of their Enemies.

About the beginning of September, your Majesty ordered the E— of P—, to let you know how the Presbyterian Ministers intended to behave themselves at the Juncture, judging as they behaved, their followers would follow their Example; but he believing very justly that they would not use Freedom with him, desired me to imploy some Person to try their Pulse. Sir P— M— was one then that had not attacked himself apparently to any Party, but was generally well with all Parties; I desired him to go to some of the leading Men that were then assembled in Town, and tell them from whom he was sent, and that your Majesty, considering the many favours you had

had shown them, expected they would now show their Gratitude in influencing their People to joyn heartily against the unnatural Invasion, and that according to their present Behaviour, they might expect Favour and Protection from you for the future. They answered them dryly, they were but a few then, but in a Fortnight there would be a general Meeting of them all, that then they doubted not but they would give your Majesty Satisfaction with such Answers. When that time came, they put off giving any positive Answer, until they had new Assurances from their Friends in *Holland*, and made high with Expectations that the Prince of *Orange* would put all the Government both of Church and State in their Hands; and then they sent me Word by Sir P.— M.—, that they owned God had made the King an Instrument of shewing them some Favour; but since they were convinced, that what Favour was shown them, was only with a design to ruin the Protestant Religion, they would meddle no more with him, nor have any Communion with any that belonged

belonged to him, especially since he had imployed in the chief Offices, Papists, or Persons Popishly inclined, and so desired to be excused from giving any farther Answer, but that they would behave in this Juncture as God would inspire them; this Answer shewed plainly, what was to be expected from them, and from that time forward, both they and the Gentry of their Party took little Pains to disguise their Resolutions, but still fears of Accidents kept them from doing any thing the Government could publickly Punish; nor were any of them throughly in the Affair, or trusted in it, so much as to make them venture any thing for what they so much desired: If any was throughly trusted, it was the Earl of A——le then at *London*; at the beginning of the Indulgence he turned Fanatick, but in a few Months wearied of it, and came to the Earl of P——b, and told him it was only his Youth that misled him in joining with such a Rebellious, Mutinous Pack, but hence forward he would serve the King heartily, and that he intended to go for *London* immediately, and to offer his Service. D There-

Therefore he desired his Recommendation, which he got, and was very kindly entertained by your Majesty, and at first was to have the Earl of A——y's Troop of Horse; but the Earl of A——y coming up, and not being willing to part with it, he had the promise of a Regiment which he was to raise in the *Southern Countries*; but finding your Majesty's Affairs in greater disorder than he imagined, he chused rather to joyn with some of the disaffected Lords in *England*.

The first he proposed to, was the Earl of D——k, he told him he found by the Company he kept constantly, that he was not satisfied with the present Government, and that he was as much dissatisfied himself as any, tho' he was forced to dissemble it, until he had got some things done he came for; that he was resolved never to draw Sword against the Prince of *Orange*, and that if he and his Friends would trust him, he would serve them faithfully, and ruin their Fate.

The Earl of D——k told him he was joyned with others, and could  
not

not act without their Liberty, but he should speak to them of it, and give an Answer; the next Day he appointed him to meet him in the City, with the Duke of O——d, Mr. B——ll, and Mr. M——ll, who belonged to the Princess of D——k, after they had dined; the Earl of D——k told him, he had spoke to Prince George and the rest then with him, of what he had offered, that they all accepted willingly of it, but expected that he would give an Oath of Secrecy the most binding way they could demand, which he also readily promis'd; so Mr. M——ll officiated and gave him the Sacrament, and took the Oath. That he would go in with them to the Prince of Orange whenever he Landed; but when it came to the push, his Heart fail'd him, and he excused himself, that he had got a Misfortune; for which, when the Prince of Orange came to London, he was for some Days in the Messengers Hands, which made him immediately quit them, and joyn with those intended to serve your Majesty in the following Convention. What more of this kind of

Treachery was carried on, I cannot be positive, for I believe very few *Scots Men* were concerned in it; for I doubt not if they had, but they would have themselves valued in it with the rest, for severals did so that were not concerned; nor could any such Treacherous Designs been concealed, considering the Pains both the Secret Committee and Council took to find them out: And how intirely well affected to your Majesty, was the little Army you had in *Scotland*, which was so advantagiously posted through the Kingdom, that even the most disaffected lived peaceably expecting the Event?

But so soon as your Majesty sent your Orders, that they should be brought together, and be in a readiness to March into *England*, then all discontented People and Fanaticks in the Nation thought they had hit on their own time, believing your Majesty's Affairs in *England* must be in a miserable Condition, when you had need of so small a Force, and for it to leave a Government naked, and lose a whole Country, which otherways might have been so useful to you.

When

When first the Earl of M——, by your Majesty's Order, wrote of it to the Secret Committee, they immediately sent an Express to lay before your Majesty the inconveniency of it, and likewise to propose a Design they had, that with it, and the modelled Militia, and a Detachment of the *Highlanders*, to make an Army of 13,000 Men, with half years Pay, to have lain either upon the Borders of *Scotland*, or in the *North of England*, which certainly would have hindred all those Risings in the *North of England*, which made a noise so far above what really they were, and proved so prejudicial to your Affairs; but instead of following this Advice, which was the unanimous Advice of the whole Council, the Earl of M—— wrote down an Order, not subscribed by your Majesty, but only in your Majesty's Name, ordering, That the Army should immediately March, and that if any of your Servants were afraid to stay behind, they might go along with the Army: With a sorrowful Heart your Majesty's Orders were obeyed, for the Consequences were too evident, so about the beginning of *October* they began their March.

The

The Council after that, ordered the modelled Militia to be brought together about *Edinburgh*, and some to be quartered in the Suburbs; but the new raised Men that would quickly have been brought into Order, if mingled with modelled Troops, signified little to keep up the Face of Authority, nor was their Commander, Sir G—— M——o, better at his Trade then the rest, having lost any thing he had learned in *Germany* long ago, nor had he retained any thing, but affected Nastiness, Brutality and Fanaticism, Necessity, and the Recommendation of some more out of Friendship to him than the Service, perswaded the Council to give him a Commission, until your Majesty's Pleasure should be known, which afterwards you confirmed.

The Presbyterians, and discontented Party seeing the miserable and abandon'd Condition your Affairs were in, took their opportunity accordingly; for so soon as the Army past the Border, *Edinburgh* was filled with numbers of them of all Degrees from all Places in the Kingdom, who then thought it safe to take off their Masks,  
and

and meet publickly in several Clubs, where they deliberated, as formerly, what was fit for them to do in that Juncture, as if they had been allowed by Authority; and the Council and Secret Committee knew from some Spies they had among them, all that past at their Meetings, yet they were forc'd to overlook what they had not Force to suppress; the chief of these Meetings, were the Earl of G——n, Earl C——d, Earl D——d, Earl T——s, Lord R——s, Lord M——n, a Fanatick, few Months before put into the Session; Sir J——s M——y, A——r Younger, Mr W——m H——n, Mr. W——m L——t, M——y of Philliphaugh, R——n, D——d, B——e of Greenock, M——m, L——n Master of Burrley, Mr. F——s M——y, Major B——n of Baillie-Hall, G——e S——g Chirurgion, one M——s a Merchant, B——e of Broomhall, P——r, R——y L——t, the Master of Melvil, Lord B——y, Sir P——k M——y, O——n, &c.

Several joyned with them afterwards, but these were the chief Beginners and Head men among them, until the banished Rebels from Holland met

met them at *London* and eclipsed them. The Presbyterian Ministers did not publicly meet with them, but according to their ancient Custom, nothing was determined without their Advice and Approbation. One of the first things they took into their Consideration was, how to hinder all Correspondence betwixt your Majesty and your Council, which Sir J——s M——y undertook and did it so effectually, that few Packets mist him, which was easy to be done, having Correspondence both about *Berwick*, and the *North* of *England*; yet notwithstanding all the Care they took, some Posts came through, until the Rising of the *Northern* Countries in *England*, with the Earl of D——y, and Lord L——y, then they opened all Packets, and only suffered such Letters to pass as they thought fit; some Expresses were sent down by the Earl of M——r to his Brother, but for fear of discouraging, always made things so much better than what was reported by these Meetings at *Edinburgh*, or other Letters that came down.

That the Secret Committee was in great Perplexity to know the Truth,  
this

this obliged them also to seize the Packet and open the Letters; but it had so oft been done before, both by the discontented Party in *Scotland*, and the Lords in the *North of England*, that there was little or nothing learned by it; for several Weeks after, there came neither Packers nor Express; at last, one came with an account of the landing of the Prince of *Orange*, and that your Majesty had marched down to meet him, till the Earl of *M——* gave his Brother all the Hopes imaginable; but the Earl of *D——* wrote in so different Terms to me, that my Lord Chancellor resolved to send one to receive your Majesty's Commands, to let him know the Truth of what was doing; for which one *Baillie Brand* Merchant in *Edinburgh*, was sent Express, and recommended by the Viscount of *Tarbat* as one most proper, being accustomed to Travel that Road about his own Affairs, and so might be the less capable of Suspicion.

The Chancellor by him, gave you an account of the bad State this Nation was in since the calling away of the Forces, and the Presbyterians declaring intirely against you; but the Messenger

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be.

betrayed his Trust, and went straight in to the Prince of *Orange's* Camp, and was introduced by Doctor *Barnet*; he told the Prince he was sent by several to offer his Highness their Service; this was no sooner known, but the Viscount of *T——t* was extremely suspected to be one of these, but I am convinced he had not at that time any Correspondence; for there was no Man in the Nation in such Apprehensions of Dangers after he read the Prince of *Orange's* Declaration, and saw by it he intended to Sacrifice all to satisfy the Presbyterians, and these Rebels that did come over with him, and who were for the most part the Viscount of *T——t's* personal Enemies.

This way failing of having your Commands, the Council ordered three of their numbers to wait on your Majesty, viz. the Viscount of *T——t*, the President of the Council, and myself; the other two fearing to get through, and not being able to ride Post, excused themselves, so I was sent alone. Some Days before I left *Edinburgh*, it was spread abroad, that the Rabble of the Town designed to make an Uproar, which was purposely set about

about by these Meetings to frighten these you trusted, and by some who had a mind to be rid of my Lord Chancellor, to have the Government in their own Hands, that they might be in a better Condition to make their Court to the Prince of *Orange*. The chief of those was the Marquis of *A——e*, who thought that so early an appearance for the Prince of *Orange*, could not but be extremely Meritorious, nor could they have done it more effectually, than by stirring up the Rabble against the Government, and making a publick Mutiny and Exclamation against those things mentioned by him in his Declaration.

The News of the treachery of your Army, and of your Majesty's being come back to *London*, was no small Encouragement to them that design'd to make their Courts, especially to the Viscount of *T——r* and Sir *J. D——e*, who, tho' the Marquis of *A——e* appeared the Head of all, yet they were the Springs by which every Thing was moved and ordered so well, that he was satisfied with the vanity of the Name, whereas they were sure of the Profit without the Hazard; for if your Majesty

had succeeded contrary to their Expectation, all the stress of the Disorders they could fairly put upon him, and if the Prince of Orange prospered, they knew they had such Friends about him, that they would keep all the Honour of ruining the Government and getting the Council declare for him.

Their chief Design to get this accomplish'd, was to get rid of the Lord Chancellor. The Marquis of A——e design'd it, both out of Family Pique, and to get the Government into his Hands, as falling due to him after the Chancellor's departure, he being next Officer of State. The Way he proposed for this, was to have all the Troops disbanded, which he knew would have all been at the Chancellor's Devotion except their miserable General, and bad as they were, would have been better than could have been brought against them; for the Council having kept some inferior Officers of the Earl of D——s Regiment that came down for Recruits, put them in tolerable Order.

The Viscount of T——t proposed in Council that these Troops may be disbanded, being an unnecessary Charge,  
since

since he believed there would be no more to do with Soldiers, and the Prince of *Orange* had declared in his Declaration, the Illegality of keeping up Forces in time of Peace.

The Earl of *P — b* who was desirous to do every Thing to satisfy them, and not considering their Design, too easily consented to it, and trusting some of those he saw most earnest for it, next Day they were all dismissed except four Companies of Foot, and two Troops of Horse, for bringing in the publick Money. So soon as they had got them dismiss, the Marquis of *A — e*, and the rest of the Councillors that were of his Party, came to my Lord Chancellor's own Lodging, and told him, They thought themselves no longer in Safety to meet in Council where he was, and several others, incapacitate by Law; but if he and they would retire, it would soon be seen how rigorously they would Act in the King's Service and get all the Rabble pacified, and the discontented Meeting dismiss. Before he gave them any positive Answer, he retired into another Room, where the Duke of *G — n* and all the Catholick Councillors were met upon the  
the

the noise of this Advice of the Marquis of A—s, and he told them what had past; all unanimously advised him to be gone, and that it would look better to do it voluntarily than be compell'd, as certainly they would do; now, when they had begun, and had all the Rabble and discontented Meetings on their Side. Several others likewise, out of Concern for him, gave him the same Advice, thinking it dangerous for him to trust an enraged Multitude; these Advices of his Friends determined him, so he returned to these Lords and took his leave of them, and went straight to the Country: Before he went away, the Rabble began to meet in Companies upon the Street, being encouraged by these Lords and Gentlemen I have already named, G—e, S—g and W—m M—s; so soon as they saw them beginning to beat Drums through all the Town, and when the Inhabitants came out to see what was the matter of so sudden an Allarum, they had their Friends posted in all Quarters to tell them, That all the Townsmen that were Protestants, should immediately gather together for their own Defence, for they were certainly inform'd, that a great number

number of Papists had got into the Town and designed to burn it that Night. This made an Alarum through all the Town, and few stayed in their Houses. When they were all gathered together and saw no appearance of any such thing, some, who were called there of purpose, proposed, That since there were so many honest Men got together, it would be a pity they should part without doing something, and that they could not propose a more worthy Action, than to go down to the Abbey and pull down the Chappel. It was no sooner proposed, but (as in such tumultuous Meetings) all cried Agreed, and in a tumultuous manner, Men and Boys marched away; Captain *John Wallace*, who was then in the House with six Score Men, raised a little before by the Council on that Design, so soon as he heard of their coming, sent a Sergeant to desire them not to come near, otherways he would be obliged to do his Duty and Fire; but notwithstanding of his Fire they pressed on, and he gave them a Volly of Firelocks among them, which killed about a Dozen, and wounded thrice as many; on the first they immediately run, and the noise was

was industriously spread by the Gentlemen and Lords sitting the same time at their Meetings, as if *W——e* had made a Butchery of the Inhabitants, and to make it inflame the more, there were few Burghers or People in Town of any Consideration, but was said to have Children killed: The first Meeting was but the meaner sort and Boys; but after this, the whole Inhabitants got to Arms, and the discontented Meetings came out to the Streets, and offered their Service, which was gladly received; but as they were again going against the Captain, one of them proposed, that what they were a going about might some time or other be challenged, therefore he advised them, that since they were sure of the Marquiss of *A——e* and some other Counsellors, he might be desired by some of their number, to give them a publick Warrant for what they were to do, and likewise might offer the concurrence of the Magistrates. The Advice was thought very reasonable, and Deputies were sent to the Marquiss; he immediately sent for the Earl of *B——e*, Viscount of *Tarbat*, and Sir *J——n D——e*, these four signed a Warrant  
to

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three

three thousand Men ; when they came within distance of Shot, the Trumpets and Heralds were sent before to Command him to surrender ; Captain *Wallace* told them, he was put in by the Council, and would never deliver it up without the King or Councils Command ; the Order then produced was but a Quorum of the Council, so he absolutely refused to obey ; at which they began to fire straggling Shots at one another, which made all the Magistrates and others draw down to *Stairs* and *Lairs*, and left Major G — e, the Train'd-Bands, and his Company with the Rabble, to dispute the matter ; Captain *Wallace* had certainly been able to defend the House, if he had kept his Men within the Court and fired out of the Windows, but he left the House and posted himself in the outer Court, which when Captain G — e perceived, he marched out at the Town Post with his Company, and came in by the back Court and so got behind him, which when Captain *W — e* heard, he slip'd aside without telling his Officers and Soldiers, and left them to shift for themselves. When they knew that he was gone, they laid  
down

down their Arms and begg'd Quarters ; the Gentlemen and Rabble when they saw all hazard over, ran in upon them, killed some and made the rest Prisoners and sent them to Prison, where severals of them died for Want and of their Wounds ; then all the Rabble rush'd into the House, pulled down every thing they could find in the private Chappel and in the Abbey, which was but furnished some Days before ; next they fell upon the House where the Jesuits lived and almost pulled it down ; then they broke into the Earl of P—b's Cellars, and made themselves as Drunk with Wine as they were before with Zeal ; for two or three Days thereafter they rambled up and down the Town, Search'd and Plunder'd what Roman-Catholick Houses they could find, which were very few, except some Catholick Ladies whom they used villanously ; nor did the Council any thing to hinder their Disorders.

For such of them as abhorred these Barbarities, thought themselves happy to escape their Rage ; others were so far from discouraging these Abuses, that it was generally known they were the chief Promoters of them : After the

Noise of the Rabble was a little abated, the Marquis of A——e, as next Officer of State, called the Council and proposed an Address to be sent up to the Prince of O——, with the highest acknowledgments of Gratitude for his generous undertaking of freeing them from Popery and Tyranny, and offers of future Service ; but there were so many who oppos'd it, so that it was stopt. These that hindred for a while the Violences of Marquis of A——e, and his Party, were the two Archbishops, the President of the Session, Sir G——e M——e, Master of B——o, Mr. C——s H——e, now Earl, and the Lord L———e ; but tho' they got the Address first offered stopt, yet they were out-Voted when it was Debated, if it was proper to send away at all, and so Lord G——s was sent up with an Address very short, and in general Terms, which was very coldly receiv'd, a franker one being promised and expected. The next thing gave them some work was, the apprehending of the Earl of P——h, who finding he could not live in safety at Home, and being desirous to be with your Majesty, he embarked at *Bruntisland* in  
*Fife*

*Fife* for *France*; but tho' he had disguised himself, one C—*k* a Fanatick knew him as he was going on Ship-board, who immediately rode to *Kircaldy*, where the most of that Profession in that Country dwells, and by accident met with a great Company of Seamen walking on the Shore, he told them he could set them on a way whereby they might be all Rich, that he had seen the Earl of P—*b* take Ship at *Bruntisland*, and that he had a vast Sum of Money aboard, and that he was confident to apprehend him, would be acceptable to many of the Council; among these Seamen, there was one *Wilson* who had been a Bucanier, he willingly accepted the Employment, and all the rest submitted to him; but to get their Affairs done without hazard, they sent to the Magistrates of the Town, and told them of their Resolution, and desired their Allowance, which they very willingly did, and gave them an Order; the two who Signed it were Captain C—*d* and J—*s* L—*e*, both at that time in beneficial Employments; the Wind being quite calm, they got in a Long-boat to him near the Bass; my  
Lord

Lord (which was a great oversight in him) had but very few Seamen aboard, who immediately rendered, and after they had plundered him and his Lady, they brought them back to *Kircaldy* and threw them into a common Prison and used them with all Barbarity and Insolence a Rabble was capable of, which the Magistrates rather encouraged than hinder'd after they had put them in Prison (as the Magistrates pretended since) to secure them; one of them went over to the Marquiss and told him what their Townsmen had done, which he not only approved of, but gave an antedated Order for their Warrant; but this his Lordship denies, and they affirm they still have; so I shall not determine the Truth of it, the Earl of *M——r* and several others told me when they came afterwards to *London* that they had seen it: What to do with him made a great Debate in Council; the Marquiss of *A——e* and all his Party were for sending him to *Sterling* Castle, others were for his Liberty, besides, the Earl of *Cassils*, who was made one of the Council a little before, but they were out Voted, and the Earl of *M——r* was sent with  
Orders

Orders to *Kircaldy* to carry him to *Sterling* Castle, which he Commanded on pretext to secure him from the Rabble, and thus took him out of their Hands, but mended nothing the barbarous Usage, for first he was carried to the Earl of *M——r*'s own House at *Allo-way*, where they kept Centuries standing within the room with him, and then made him close Prisoner in *Sterling* Castle, where he remain'd almost four Years.

The Marquiss and most of the Council, began to prepare for going up to make their Court; but that they might do it the better, it was Voted in Council, that they should desire the Lord of Thesaury to pay their Expences, which was likewise carried; the Marquiss and Viscount of *Tarbat*, were very ready to comply since they were to have their share, but the Earl of *Tweddale* (who with these two were all that were in Town of the Thesaury) was not then in a Condition to go up himself and absolutely refused; so for want of a quorum the whole Project was broke, and they were forced to go on their own Charges; after the Viscount of *Tarbat*, Sir *G——e M——e*, and the

the President of the Session were gone, the Marquis of A— took upon him absolutely the Government while they stayed.

There was at least some decency kept, but they were no sooner gone, but the Marquis, like another *Mazzenello*, ordered all at his Pleasure, turn'd out several from their Employments about the Thesaurry, Customs and other Places, and put in Creatures of his own, and when he had ordered all as he thought fit, he followed the rest of the Council, and left the Earl of S—, and some others of the Council of his own Party to manage in his Absence.

Never was such a confluence seen on the Road of all Sorts, Degrees and Perswasions as at that time going up, for no sooner was it known that your Majesty was gone, and the Prince of O— come to *London*, but all that could scrape so much Money together went up, the Presbyterians and discontented Noblemen, Gentlemen and Ministers, to receive the Fruit of their Labours and great Promises; the Episcopal Party, to endeavour to save themselves from the Ruin they saw inevitably coming

coming upon them by their Enemies, getting the absolute disposal of the Government both in Church and State; but their number was nothing to be compared to the others, after they had met with their Friends from *Holland*; every Night after they were once gathered together, they kept their Meetings in *St. James's Street* at the Ship Tavern, then they consulted what was next to be done, both to get the Government in their Hands, and how to hinder all others who were not of their Party.

One of the first Things proposed was, who should be for ever incapacitated for all publick Employment; five only were named at first, and sent with Monsieur *Beaton*, to the Prince of O — at the Desire of the whole Meeting, and these were the Duke of Q — y, Viscount of *Tarbat*, Sir *George M — e*, Viscount of D — e, and my self; but the Prince of O — absolutely refused, being resolved to put no Body in Despair, till once he knew how they intended to behave for his Interest; which stop made us go on no further in that Affair, tho' they intended (as was mentioned) next Parliament, that all should be incapacitated who ever had served

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your Majesty in any Employment whatsoever, but that took so many in, and so many of themselves and Friends being concerned, it was likewise hindered, not only by the Prince of *Orange* who desired not to be confined to them, but by most of the leading Men among them, who accepted the chief Employments, and particularly the Duke of *H—n*, whom I cannot pass by, without giving your Majesty some account of his Behaviour, not only in this Affair, but a little before ; and especially what I was most concern'd in my self.

The Day after your Majesty's first going from *London* I came there, and hearing the unhappy News, I thought it was reasonable to desire the Advice of all other Councillors who were there, what I should write to the Council who had sent me up to receive your Commands, and let your Majesty know the Condition of the Kingdom, and give you new assurances of Loyalty and Fidelity, in Terms very different from what was alledged by some.

Before your Majesty went away, as if the Council of *Scotland* had been sending some of their Number to joyn with these that had petitioned you  
for

for the calling of a Parliament, after I had got together all the Councillors, which were the Earl of A—y, Lord L———, Viscount of Dundie, Lieutenant General D——, we went to the Duke of H——'s Lodging, where I told them on what account I was sent, and now that your Majesty was gone, desired their Advice what I should write Home, for all that Time we knew nothing of what Troubles had happened, and gave the Duke a Letter from the Council, wherein they desired he might assist me in receiving your Majesty's Commands, and letting you know the Condition they were in. So soon as he read his own, he desired to see the Letter I had brought to your Majesty, otherwise he would not meddle in our Affairs; to satisfy him I gave him a Double of it, and tho' he pressed with all the Passion his natural Fire and insolent Temper could permit, that I might give him the Principal, I absolutely refused to do it at all, and I had no Reason, since he was not to deliver it, and that your Majesty was gone; This put him into such a Fury, that he no more could conceal his Design of desiring the Letter, and told, that if

he had the principal Letter, he should give it to the Lords met at *White-hall*, to shew them what a Letter I had brought up, subscribed by a Chancellor and several other Councillors still sitting there, contrary to Law; that he would meddle in nothing wherein they were concerned, and that he was free himself, having never acted since the last Indemnity, but that he would consult with the *English* Lords what was proper next to be done, and so in a Rage left us in his own House. But three Days after, when he heard of your Majesty's coming back from *Feverham*, and that Things were like not to go on as he expected, he sent for the Viscount of *Dundie*, and made great Excuses for his Passion, and desired him to go to us all and offer his Friendship, and in his own Lodging, prays and intreats us that we might make no more of it. After your Majesty's coming back, no Man for the short Time you stayed, appeared more concerned for your Service; but your Majesty had no sooner come to *White-hall*, than he had his Coach ready, and went straight to the Session-House to the Prince of *Orange* and offered him his Service, and was received

received more kindly than any other, not out of Affection, but that he saw him the fittest Tool to manage the different Interests of that Nation; for with the discontented Noblemen and Gentlemen, none appeared more dissatisfied with all that had been done in the former Reign, tho' none had a greater Hand in all that was done.

With the Presbyterians he always pretended he had been in their Interest, and what he did that looked like compliance in the former Government against them, was only to keep them from greater Misfortunes. With the Episcopal Party, at least with such as trusted him, who were very few, he begged they might suspend their Judgment of him until a Convention, and then it should be seen who were most for the Interest of the King and Nation.

With these pretexts, which is no hard task for Men that will abandon for their Interests all Truth, Honour, and Religion, he cajolled a vast Number of all Perswasions, and made himself thought absolutely necessary, which was the only Thing he aimed at both in your Brother's Reign and your own, and

and to carry on this the better among different Parties, in appearance, he meddled with none of their Meetings, for that would declare him too much a Party, until he got all Things ready for their great meeting held at *White-hall*, whereof he was chosen President; he proposed the great disorders at Home, that all the Nation was cast loose without any shadow or order of Government.

Therefore it was absolutely necessary that the Government should be lodged somewhere until a Convention of Estates were called; the great Disorders that had fallen out, and the Licentious Liberty the Mob had taken, made many comply to that Proposition, tho' extremely against their Inclinations; and what made it pass the easier was the time of this Government, being prefixed to so short a Day as the 16th of *March 1689*; besides it could hardly be avoided without being Imprisoned, all the rode being stopped, and Passage absolutely denied, and so would have rendred them incapable of appearing for your Interest. In the Convention met then, the Earl of *A——* did read over a short Paper, wherein  
he

he told them he believed there could be no other means to restore Peace and Happiness in *Britain*, but to send to your Majesty, and desire you would return.

There were a great many there, who would willingly join in such a Proposition, but his Lordship brought it in without letting any of your Friends know it; besides, at that time the Earl of *A——* was extremely suspected both for his going into the Prince of *Orange* on the first noise of your Majesty's going away, and the great Interest his Father had with the Prince of *Orange*, and all the Fanatick discontented Party, the most sensible and best of your Friends judged likewise, that tho' this Proposal seemed Just and Bold, yet it was then ill timed, considering if any had joyned with him, the Prince of *Orange* would immediately have sent down Troops to *Scotland*, which would inevitably hinder all appearance for your Interest in the Convention, which was believed to be the only place proper to appear in, and that at that time, no Wise Man ought to do more, but to get out of the claws of their Enemies. In this Meeting there was nothing else done

done, but an offer of Signing the Association, which all refused, who intended to act for your Interest; after that was over, both Parties made what haste they could to get Home, but still the Prince of *Orange* denied Passage until he was declared King, which was thought he did, that all the *Scots* there might kiss his Hand, which would be a kind of Acknowledgment; but notwithstanding that, Duke *Hamilton* and all those who came over from *Holland*, and several others, went and did it; yet many of the *Scots*, even of those, who were as violent as any, refused it, which was extremely ill taken.

How to behave in that Convention to sit in *March*, puzzled not a few; but all the Loyal Party, some thought they could not, in Conscience, go to any Meeting called by the Prince of *Orange*; That it was a Breach of their Oath in the Test, to sit in any Meeting not called by Regal Authority; but others judged, That since your Majesty was not in a Condition at that time to call a Convention, they might very lawfully go, since it was only to serve you that they exposed themselves to a Victorious and Insulting Enemy; but your Majesty

Justy sending over ~~Gates~~ ~~H~~ just  
at the time when these Resolutions  
were a forming, made all your Friends  
relolve to go down; and since They  
knew you allowed them to endeavour  
to make all the Interest they could that  
Members might be rightly chosen;

The Marquis of ~~A~~ was come  
up a little before I, to receive the Re-  
wards of his Service, but he was dryly  
received, and so many Enemies about  
the Prince of Orange, that he began a-  
gain to look to his old Friends, and  
make great Apologies for what was past  
in Scotland, and promised his assistance  
in the Convention.

There was so much need for help that  
he was receiv'd, and all your Friends  
joyned to go down to Scotland, to prepare  
your Friends in the severall Countreies  
and Towns for the Election of Com-  
missioners; but it was too long before  
it was resolv'd on, and many of the  
Loyal Gentlemen absolutely refused to  
meet on call, which gave the Prince of  
Orange's Party and Fanaticks great Ad-  
vantage; yet notwithstanding of these  
Disadvantages, if Forces had not been  
sent down, and all the aforesaid Per-  
sons admitted without any repeat of a

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thing

thing never heard, of before, your Interest had been asserted in that Convention.

The first that came down of either Parties was the Viscount of D — — e, and my self; when we came to *Edinburgh* about the end of *February*, we found that City in a great quiet and generally well affected.

The College of Justice to free themselves, after the Marquis of A — — e left his Government, Armed themselves and made up a Battalion of very good Men, which kept all the disaffected in great awe; but Duke *Hamilton* believing they would not be for purpose, got an Order sent down with Commissary M — — o to disband them; on our first coming we waited on the Duke of G — — e, who was Capitulating to render up the Castle of *Edinburgh*; at our entry to the Castle, we met all the Duke's Furniture coming out, which gave us small Hopes of his keeping it, but we had the good Fortune to convince him, that it would be so much for your Majesty's Interest, and his own Honour, that he promised to keep it out until he saw what the Convention would do; I say not this  
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in the least to disparage any thing he  
 did, for I saw him have very good In-  
 clinations to do for your Interest ; but  
 his never having Orders from you, and  
 his hearing all other Ports and Places  
 given up, discouraged him extremely.  
 He had likewise a great Temptation  
 from the Prince of *Orange*, for he wrote  
 to him a very obliging Letter, with  
 full assurance of Indemnity and Pro-  
 tection ; but notwithstanding of that,  
 and of severals Advices of such as he  
 believed wished him well, and who  
 haunted him constantly to get him to  
 deliver up the Castle, yet he resolved  
 to hold out ; but the great Error he  
 committed (tho' several others were  
 laid to his Charge that were not true)  
 was, after he had resolved it, he did  
 not get it provided, for then the City  
 of *Edinburgh* would not have denied  
 him any thing, or if they had, he could  
 easily have compelled them. Some Days  
 before the Convention sat down, the  
 Duke of *H——n* and other *Western*  
 Lords and Gentlemen brought publick-  
 ly into Town several Companies of  
 Foot and Quartered them in the City,  
 besides great numbers that they kept  
 hid in Cellers and Houses below the  
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Ground; which never appeared until some Days after the Convention was begun, tho' they were generally believed to be thrice as many as there were; this was the first Error committed by your Friends, for in reason they ought all to have left the Convention and gone and sitten in some other Town by themselves, which they might have done safely, but there was so great Hopes of doing well in that Meeting, that it made many unwilling notwithstanding of their hazard to leave it; nor can I say, wanted their probability for this Opinion; for if severals had not left us after all the reiterated Oaths imaginable, and others admitted into Convention by absolute force, we would have been by far the major part; but such Injustices was never heard of as was committed in their judging of Elections, for if any of their Party had had six Votes, the other had had a Hundred, signified nothing; besides the manner of Elections was out of all Rules ever before heard tell of, and a new way taken which was proposed by the Lord *Stairs*, That all Protestants, without distinction, should have Votes in the Election, which

which put it intirely in the Hand of the Rabble, which they managed some by Promises, and others by a little Money; nor even could all these sinistrous Arts and Tricks have compased ends, if your Friends could have had an honest Man to be President, that was not publicly obnoxious to the Fanatics, which forced, notwithstanding of all that was passed, to pitch on the Marquis of A——, not that they had Confidence either in his Parts or Honesty, but he was the only Man could be set against Duke H——; both Parties were extremely concerned, looking on the choice of a President as a decisive stroke; for by it they could know whom to reckon on; nor had they small reason for their Judgment, for the first day the Duke of H—— was chosen President, contrary even to their own Expectation, above twenty left us that had engaged to us and voted for us, seeing we were the weakest Party, and that the other would have both Forces, and shew Authority on their side. The next thing they Voted was a Committee of Elections, which they got filled with their own Party and ended the Affair; for by that they saw themselves

themselves so strong, nothing could be heard among them, but put it to the Vote, which they always carried without debate, and so scandalously, that even Duke H——, who (to give him his due) understood Reason and the Law of the Nation at another rate than any tumultuous Carriage, and several times endeavoured to hinder it, nor can I say if this Cause had been good, but he behaved himself until it came to the chief Matter, with a great deal of Prudence and Moderation, in so much that some of their own Party began to repent of their choice. Some few days were taken up in judging of Elections, which would have taken much longer time, if severals who saw there was no manner of Justice so much as pretended to among them, had not given it over and yielded, which made them grow stronger every day. None concerned in that Affair of Elections, behaved so well as Mr. C——s H——; after his Brother, the Earl of H——s's Death, the Title fell to him, but by Reason of the Debts of the Family, he did not take on him the Title, fearing to lose a considerable Interest that was left him, with this Provision, That if  
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the Estate of *H—e* came to him, then that Estate should go to his Younger Brother, so not pretending to be a Peer he was chosen one of the Commissioners for the Shire; but when it was brought before the Convention, he was cast as one they expected would be none of their Friends; so soon as the Sentence was pronounc'd, he told the President, since they had taken away one way of his sitting in that Convention he had right to, he should try another which they could not refuse him, and so went out and took place as Earl of *H—e*, with the hazard of losing the best part of his Estate.

There was likewise another extraordinary Affair of that kind, one Mr. *B—e* of *Tarwoodhead*, that had pretended some Years before to be Lord *Forester*, but was Summon'd before the Council for Usurping a Title he had no right to, and discharged under a considerable Penalty never more to pretend to it; but these at *London* who had the Writing of Letters, not knowing his Title, or more likely, believed he would be on their Interest, procured him a Letter from the Prince of *Orange* to come to the Convention;  
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so soon as he was challenged by Sir G—— M——e he produced his Letter which was Voted a sufficient right to sit ; several, as unjustly as these, were received ; I only instance them, to show how that Convention was constituted, most of the Commissioners having no right. The first thing they took into their Consideration, after the House was thus constituted, was the getting of the Castle of *Edinburgh* into their Hands ; That which pressed them most to it, there was two pretending to have the Government of it, the Earl of L——n and the Earl of E——n, likewise, it being the first of any Consideration in *Britain*, holding out, the Prince of *Orange* was very desirous to have it reduced, the Earl of L——n and T——e were sent up to Capitulate with Duke G——n, who promised them he would comply with their desire, and give it up next day at Ten a Clock. So soon as the Viscount of D——e and I heard them give this Answer to the Convention, we were mightily alarm'd, and sent up one immediately to remember his Grace of his Engagement to us, and to lay before him the ruin of your Affairs if once they

they got the Castle in their Hands! As Irresolution was the cause of his Promise to them, so what Arguments were used to him on the other side meeting with his desire to serve you, brought him about again, his greatest Obstacle then was, how to come fairly off; the Earl of T—— with his flattering insinuating way had got him to go too great a length, so that, it was advised that next Day when they came to demand the Castle, he should tell, he would willingly give it up, but he could not see how he could be safe himself from the Rabble of the Town and those that were brought into it; but to free them from all fear he should give the Convention any disturbance, he should offer Bail for Twenty Thousand Pound to live peaceably in it; but tho' he was very well satisfied with this Advice, yet that Night he grew again irresolute, and sent to tell us, that except we came to him immediately he would not keep his Word. This was impossible to do, for they having placed the Town Companies of *Edinburgh* upon the Castle Hill, suffered none they suspected to go up, yet one ventured to him to know what he had to say to us?

he sent us Word, that notwithstanding of all was past he would deliver it up, except we both gave it under our Hands, that it was of absolute Necessity for your Affairs not to yield it up, which we both did that Night, and next Morning the Viscount of D——e got into the Castle and confirmed him absolutely in his Resolution of keeping it out, by telling him the Resolutions were taken by your Friends of leaving *Edinburgh* and setting up at *Sterling*; so next Day, when they expected to have the Castle at the Hour appointed, he refused again, and Hostilities went out.

Being thus left by many of those we trusted, and despairing of doing any thing in that Convention, next day we resolved in our general Meeting, that we would quell it, and call a Convention at *Sterling*; but your Majesty had given Power to the Archbishop of *St. Andrews*, the Viscount of D——e and my self, to do by a Letter you sent us from *Ireland* by one Mr. B——n; but before we could determine, if that it was of absolute necessity to be secure of the Earl of M——r and Marquis of A——e, the one having command of *Sterling* Castle, and the other that he

he might bring us *Highlanders* to be a Guard to the Town; the Earl of M—, had all along appeared one of the firmest in your Interest from the time he came to *London*, so he gave us all the assurances imaginable, that he would be according as the major part thought fit; the Marquiss of A— also consented to leave *Edinburgh* and go straight to *Sterling*, but he never continued six Hours in one Resolution, which broke all our Design, for his wavering made our Departure be put off, still expecting he would be brought about to do it; at last a positive Hour was condescended, one and severals made themselves ready whom we hardly expected, after it was resolved to be gone; it was thought fit by all your Friends, that one should be sent to let you know the reason of our leaving the Convention, and receive your Commands, which the Laird of *Cullin* undertook that before we was to go off; just as the Convention was sitting down, there came one to the Viscount of D—, telling him, that there was six or seven Men in a House intended to Murder him and Sir G— M—, and that if he would get a Warrant he

might instantly carry them to the House where they were; so soon as the Convention met, he told this to the Duke of H——n, who proposed it to the Convention, but they absolutely refused to meddle in it, but went to other Affairs. This made the Viscount of D——e press yet the more to be gone then before; so evident a piece of Justice being refused him, tho' he offered to prove it at the Bar, neither was there any of your Friends who could think themselves longer safe, which certainly the other Party was extremely glad to see, for all they desired was to have the House alone: It is not to be doubted but they made several such things to pass purposely to frighten us, but it was hard trusting Men who had the Power in their Hands, that they would stop to put it in Execution what so many of them have publickly profess'd, and at least not condemnedly the most moderate of the Party, when their Interest or Revenge was concerned. But after all of us were fully determined to make the best of our way the next Morning to *Sterling*, the Marquis of A——e's Heart failed, so some who went down to him, thinking to get him

him to go along, he desired we might go to the Place we ordinarily met in, and stay yet another day, which we all consented to, and that we might the better cover our Design of going away, we resolv'd to go for that day to the Convention: just as we were almost dispers'd and gone to the House, the Viscount of Dundee came in, who knew nothing of the Marquis of A——e's delay, nor of your Friends Resolution to stay a little longer for him, but expected all was just a going; he was mightily surpriz'd at their Resolution, and told me, notwithstanding of that, he would go before, and if any got out in Town he would wait for them.

It was very evident his going away would give the Alarm, which made me extremely earnest that he might stay one day longer; but he had before made an appointment with some to go with him, so he went straight away with about Fifty Horses. As he was Riding near the Castle of Edinburgh, the Duke of G——— made a sign to speak with him at the West side of the Castle, where, tho' it be extremely steep, yet he told the Duke all that was

was resolved upon, and begg'd he might hold out the Castle till your Friends might get him relieved, which he positively promised to do. Whilst they were speaking, some of those who were set to Blockade the Castle, perceived them, and came running into the Convention and told them, that there was a great number of Horse gathering together, and that the Viscount of Dundie was talking with Duke G — —, which they looked on as a horrid Crime; after they had Out-lawed him, their fears also encreased, believing it was a general Design against them, and that which augmented their fright the more, was, that several Messengers brought Word after other, that they were still increasing; at last the Duke of H — —, in a mighty Fury, told the Convention, That now it was time to look to their own Safety, since the Papists and Enemies to the settling the Government were so bold as to gather together; That he doubted not but there were severals there among them who were on the Design, therefore it was his Opinion, that the Doors should be immediately bolted, and the Keys laid on the Table; That  
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some of their number should be sent out to beat Drums, to gather together all those well affected to Religion and Liberty; That he had brought some Foot from the *West Country*, fearing the Designs of their Enemies, to defend them. What he said was approved of by all their Party, severals of them also bragged of the numbers they had brought, and called them thrice as many as they were: The Earl of L——— was pitched upon to go out and gather them together, which when he had done, there were so miserable a parcel seen, nor is it to be doubted, if your Friends had known their own Strength, and not believed your Enemies to be far stronger than they really were, they might, with all the Ease imaginable, that day have affected and vindicated your Right, and defeated your Enemies.

Such of your Friends as were locked within the House, and guarded likewise without, looked on themselves as undone; and the thing that saved them was, that they could come to no Resolution among themselves, but I cannot say much of their Intentions, having it from some that changed Parties so often

often that I cannot assert nothing on their Credit. The fear being a little over and that they saw they had the most of your Friends in their Power, and that there was no tumult in Town, nor that the Viscount of Dundee grew any stronger, but was marching away; so they ordered one Major B ——— to gather all he could together and follow him, which he did; but never came within sight of him.

After that they had secured the Town, and thought themselves out of hazard, Duke H ——— dismissed the Convention to the great satisfaction of all your Friends, little expecting they would come off so easily, and all this noise ended in nothing; but with that, also ended all Hopes of setting up another Convention at *Sterling*, for the Marquis of A ——— gave it quite over; Earl of M ——— made a faint to get out of the Town, but went by the only Post that was Guarded, and was stopt there and brought back, and gave his Parole not to stir out of *Edinburgh* without leave of the Convention; These two giving it over, every body that was apprehensive shifted for themselves and lurked in *Edinburgh*; next Day there was

was a mighty change, for severals, either out of Fear or Interest, left us; those of note were the Earl of M——, and A——, who changed thoroughly, and went along with every thing that could be proposed; severals also both of Barons and Burgeses did the like, so that by such of their Friends as left the House, which did likewise some of the Bishops, they got their Meeting almost to be unanimous.

The Night thereafter, they searched the Town for some Officers they suspected, yet found none, but one that had a mind to be taken, Lieutenant General D——, when he went to *England* with the Army, he certainly knew nothing of any design among them, but he had not conversed long with the Lord C——, K——, and some others, but he grew one of the hottest of the Party, insomuch, that he proposed to my Lord to betray and carry in his Regiment, as I was informed by the Viscount a while after; before he made the Proposition, he told him he had one Affair of great Consequence to them both to tell, if he would give his Oath never to reveal it, which when he had done, tho' he abhorred the mo-

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tion, yet he thought himself obliged in Honour to conceal; so soon as he cleared himself to Duke H—— of any design he had against them, he was dismissed; this he could easily do, for none in all the Revolution acted a blacker part, for he not only sent in a Battallion of the *Scots* Guards, but was on all the Designs of betraying, and above all, laid down his Employment to get the greater Credit with your Friends, and at the same time was engaged to the Prince of *Orange*, to let him know what passed and was designed by his Enemies.

Being now free of most of these that obstructed them, some quitted the House, and others joyned with them, they fell heartily to work with the Affair upon which they had met, but fearing lest the Prince of *Orange* should think they went slowly on, they sent up the Lord R——, with a Letter containing the Reasons of their delay, which were, That now they were free from those that had opposed the settling the Nation, and doubted not but to come shortly to Conclusion to his Satisfaction; next chosed a Committee for settling the Government, and another for considering the  
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the present State of the Nation: What was done or failed in either I cannot give a full account, having first left the House, so can say little but from other Hands, and both Parties being concerned the one against the other, at that time a considerable allowance must be given to both their Reports, if one desire to know the Truth impartially; but still there remain'd some of your Friends that gave them some trouble, particularly Sir G——e M——e, the Archbishop of G——m and Mr. O——e, who behaved themselves extremely well, when the chief Affair came in of settling the Government; but reason signified little to Men that were resolved to go thro' with what they had begun, nor could it have signified much upon another account; for among them all (generally speaking) there was never seen such a set of Men gathered together, for they had few save Sir J——s M——y and J——n D——e, that could make the least reply, but only put it to a Vote which they were sure to carry among themselves; likewise there were some Divisions, some would have the Crown declar'd immediately vacant, as was done in *England*, and

the Prince of *Orange* proclaimed; others (who were cautious, would willingly have seen a little better about them before they made so bold a step) proposed an Union with *England*, and took all the pains imaginable to engage your Friends into it, and so bring them back to the House, alledging there would be nothing so much for your Interest as the gaining of time, and if that this Proposal did not go on, the Government would be presently settled, but if it were once set on foot, and your Friends assist it, several Months would be spent before any such Treaty could be ended.

The chief of these who managed the Affair, were the Viscount of *Tarbat* and the Lord *S—*; your Friends soon perceiv'd that they only designed to do this as effectually for the Prince of *Orange* by an Union, for all that were for this have consented to the Prince of *Orange*'s being King, and to all that was done in *England*; thus to free themselves of the Odium of such a deed your Majesty's business succeeded and ended, then they wanted not apprehensions, for your Affairs in *Ireland* were vastly magnified both by your Friends and by your

your Enemies; this Prospect took extremely with these that had a Mind to trim, or were not in hopes of Employments, but there were two different Interests in the House against it; for Duke *H—* and all he had influence upon, who expected the great Employments for himself and Children, as the Reward of his Service; then the bigotted Fanatics who feared that such an Union, where the Church of *England* was the strongest Party, might be of ill consequence to their Kirk, which they designed not only to establish upon the old Foot, but according as they did before, endeavour the Reformation of their Bretheren in *England*.

The two Parties were by far stronger than the Trimmers, especially since your Friends would not meddle, so that they never ventured to propose it publicly; a few days after they were certain that the Viscount of *Dundee* had gone by *Sterling* to his own House, they sent an Herald and a Trumpet to command him and my Lord *L—* to return, under the pain of being denounc'd Rebels to the Estate. My Lord *L—* obeyed, and was immediately dismissed, being then no Member of the House, and

and having nothing to lay to his Charge; the Viscount of *Dunfermline* wrote a Letter excusing his not obeying their Order, wherein he gave the Reasons for which he left the Convention, which were, that he could stay no longer in that Place, after that he had told in full Convention, of so many of his Enemies, who designed to Murder him, yet could have no Justice; he told also, he could not think that Convention any more free, wherein there were so many brought in from the *Western* Countries to overthrow its Members, nor where they were guarded with Forreign Troops, for just at this time *M——y* was come down from *England* with four *Dutch* Regiments; but if they would do him Justice, and give him assurance of Liberty, he promised to return immediately.

I have given this account the more full, because it was insinuated, after my Lord *D——e* went to the *Highlands*, that severals of your Friends broke their Ingagements to him, and did not go along, but was so far from being in any such Ingagements, that they would have disobey'd you if they had gone, for your positive Commands were sent with *G——e H——y*, That if we saw there  
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could be nothing done in the Convention, then we should quit it and keep as quiet as could till farther Orders, and until you could send us assistance from *Ireland*; but the design of going to *Sterling* made the one go for the other, so that was ruined by the faint-heartedness of the Marquis of *A——e* and some others. All that knew your Commands endeavoured to retire home and save themselves; nor did ever the Viscount of *Dundee* resolve to meddle until he had your Orders, except he had been obliged to save himself from a Party that came to apprehend him. Notwithstanding of the difficulties your Friends had met with, some of them did not give over Hopes of breaking the Designs of the Convention, and get another to meet in some safe Place: That which raised this was the coming down of the Duke of *Queensberry*, the Duke from the noise of the Invasion had appeared sincerely in your Interest, and must do him Justice, to say I never saw any Man more concerned then he was for the steps his Son made in *England*, after your Majesty was gone; he joyned in all the Meetings we had for your Service, and employed what Interest he could to get

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Commissions for the Shires he was concerned in chusing as we wished, nor could any thing be complained of him, but his too long stay at *London*, for if all your Friends had appeared as they promised the first Day of the Convention, they had by far been strongest; and if *Scotland* had then declared for you, when you was almost Master of *Ireland*, the Prince of *Orange* had passed his time ill in *England*, considering he had *France* to deal with on the other side. This made us extremely concerned, since that we could do no more in that Convention, either to get another to counteract them, or to get them forced from *Edinburgh*, which would have made a great delay before the time they could have another Convention established, and which they intended to set up at *Glasgow*, if they had been forced from *Edinburgh*. The only thing could be thought of by all your Friends to get this done, was to engage the Duke of G——n to Fire upon the Town, which certainly would have broke the Convention, for they always suspected some design of forcing them from *Edinburgh*; in this Resolution, no Man seem'd so forward as the Marquis of A——e, for

for it was of great concern to have him so, for after the Earl of *M—r* had entirely quitted us, and by that they had got *Sterling* in their Hands; there was no Man in the Nation (considering how all affected his *Highlands* were) could be so useful, if your Friends had retired *Northwards*, as was intended, till they had received your Orders from *Ireland*, and that which made us depend on him (for all the Escapes he had made) was the great influence the Earl of *D—e* had with him, and he applied all his endeavours to keep him to his Duty, and acted in all your Concerns with as much Zeal and Affection (till he was made Prisoner) as any ever served you.

The Countess of *E—l*, who had kept Intelligence with Duke *G—n*, from the time the Castle was blocked up, undertook to let him know our Advice, which accordingly she did, but he absolutely refused to do any thing but defend himself until he had your Majesty's Orders; so our whole designs were broke, for since there was no way found out to make them leave *Edinburgh*, all of us seeing that there was no more to be expected either from the Convention, or from those that pretended to be our

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Friends, left the Town and retired Home; such as the Earl of *H—e*, Viscount of *S—t*, Viscount of *O—d*, Lord *S—r*, Earl of *S—k*, Earl of *P—e*, Mr. *H—y M—l* his Brother, the Sheriff of *B—e*, and several others. A few days after the Committee prepared all that was intended in the Convention, but found great Difficulty how to declare the Crown vacant; some were for Abdication, as had been done in *England*, but that could not pass among the most violent of them, for it could not be imagined that your Majesty had left *Scotland*; others were for making use of an old obsolete Word, Forfeiting, used for a Birds forsaking her Nest; but Sir *J—n D—e* ended the Debate, by such Reasons against both, that they agreed to his new Proposal, which was, That your Majesty, by committing such Acts as he named, forfeited your right to the Crown, making this Childish distinction, that they intended not to forfeit you as a Traitor, but only declare you forfeited, which would make the Affair clear, and take off any pretensions the Prince of *Wales* might afterwards have.

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This immediately was taken and voted the next Day by all present, except five, the Archbishop of *Glasgow*, Sir *G — e M — — e*, Lord *B — — e*, Mr. *O — — e*, and one *B — — h*, all the rest which did intend to go along had left the House; after the Crown was declar'd vacant, Duke *H — — n* propos'd filling it again, and altho' as President he was not obliged to Vote, first to declare the Crown vacant, and next that the humble Offer thereof should be made to the Prince and Princess of *Orange*.

This was more unanimously than the other, for the Duke of *Q — — y* and Marquis of *A — — e*, who had been absent from the first Vote, came and assented to the second, and told the House, that they were not fully convinced of their Right in declaring the Crown vacant; but since they had done it, they acquiesced, and none deserved so well to fill it as the Prince of *Orange*, and afterwards went with the rest to the Market Cross of *Edinburgh*, where they were declared King and Queen of *Scotland*, where the Duke of *H — — n* to shew his Zeal, did there the meanest Action that ever could be heard tell of

in a Duke, for he officiated as Clerk, and Read from the Cross to the People, the Act of Convention: Next they Voted Lord L — n, Sir J — s M — y, and Sir J — n D — e, to carry up their Offer, with their Grievances and claim of Right, which were the Conditions pretended as giving him the Crown, and that they might be in greater safety during the Adjournment which they were to make, until they knew whether the Prince and Princess of *Orange* had accepted of their Present.

They Voted a full Power to Duke H — n to Imprison whomsoever he suspected, until the return should come back, fearing if such a Power were lodged in many, some Advertisements might be given.

The first that found the Effects of this Power was the Viscount of *Dundee*, and my self, occasion'd by your Majesty sending over one Mr. B — e with Letters from *Ireland*, wherein you gave us the same Orders that before you had done with Mr. H — y, which was to do nothing until your further Orders, and that Five Hundred Foot, and Three Hundred Horse, which you had ready to send, were Landed; these Letters  
were

were taken by the Folly of Mr. B — e, for he had told all his Business to one Mr. T — n, who came over with him out of *Ireland* on purpose to betray him, and even after he had discovered him to Duke H — n, and that he was seized on and searched, they could find nothing about him, all his Letters being hid in a false Bottom of his Walleese; nor had they any suspicion where they were, until he eased all their Minds, by telling all he knew of the Matter, from whom, and to whom he came, which had never been known but by him, the Letters having no Directions. Duke H — n, by Virtue of the Power given him, immediately ordered the Earl of L — n to send over one Hundred Foot to my Lord D — e, and as many to me; but his House being twenty Miles farther off than mine, besides having the River of *Tay* betwixt him and them, and having a good Party of his own Regiment constantly with him, they found it not so safe to Apprehend him, but I was Taken and brought to *Edinburgh* and put in a common Goal. I had the Liberty of it at first, for some Days that the Convention did not Sit; but how soon they met and read the Letters,

Letters, there were never Men in greater Rage than generally the whole House was against me. Upon Reading of one from the Earl of M—— to me, wherein after he had given us assurance of speedy Relief, he expressed himself much after this. That he wished some had been cut off that he and I spoke about, and then Things had never come to the push they were at; but when we get the Power again, such should be hewers of Wood, and drawers of Water. This Duke H—— took as meant of himself, but what the Earl of M——s Intentions were in these Expressions, I cannot determine; but to justify him and my self, I do declare, That he never in his Life made the least Insinuation to me of any such proposition; but whatever he intended by them, nothing could have been more to the prejudice of your Affairs, nor for my Ruin, than this, which did shew, that nothing but Cruelty would be used if ever your Majesty had returned.

These Letters were printed both in Scotland and England, and were like to have their design'd Effect; for when they were read in the Convention, tho' I had many Relations there, yet few appeared

appeared my Friends, except the Duke of *Q——y*, which was the more Generous in him. And until your Majesty's departure, I saw his Inclinations sincerely to follow you, for we had been in very ill Terms. He told the House, He doubted not but the Earl of *M——t* had writ these Letters on purpose to Ruin me; and if Letters coming to me could be made Criminal, it was in the Power of every Man's Enemies to expose him to what he pleased. That which inclined the Duke of *Q——y* to believe this the more was, that he knew of my concurring with many of your faithful Servants, (notwithstanding of my Friendship and Relation with the Earl of *M——t*) to Desire your Majesty by Mr. *L——y*, Captain *C——n*, and *C——n*, who were sent to you to intreat that the Earl of *M——t* should not come along with you, for at that Time, there was never a Man in any Nation so abhorred; insomuch, that whatever came from your Majesty, if he was thought to be the least concerned in it, there needed no more to give all the Isle of *Britain* a prejudice against it. This, I confess, made many of us Desire of your Majesty that he might  
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not come along with you, that there were some that did this out of perfect pique ; I cannot deny but these were but a few to the vast Number that did otherwise sincerely for your Majesty's Service, finding how obnoxious he was to all Parties, nor had he greater Enemies in the Nation ; the generality were Roman Catholicks. Tho' what the Duke of *Q* — —, said, did shew his Inclinations, yet it did signify nothing to allay Heat ; for Duke *H* — — told him, he had as little Reason as any to satisfy me, for he doubted not but he himself was also meaned, and generally all of them thought they were comprehended under hewers of Wood, and drawers of Water ; so I was voted close Prisoner, where I was kept fourteen Weeks, till after the Castle of *Edinburgh* was Surrendred, at which Time I was put in there ; nor did they limit their Rage and Malice to me, only by all, they thought I was concerned in this, and likewise must feel it ; and to make the greater Noise, they apprehended several Gentlemen, whom they thought my Friends, and put them likewise in common Goal, and it was proposed by the Earl of *C* — —, that the Lord *L* — —, who

who was one of those taken with me, should be made close Prisoner; He said he was sure (considering the Friendship I had for him) he knew all that was designed, or had been acted in the late Civil Government, but this even Duke H—— did not incline to, but the other urging it, was brought to a Vote, and carried in the Negative only by Three.

The first Thing the new Committee did, was to order that M——y should send some Troops of Dragoons about by *Stirling* to apprehend my Lord D——, who had kept still at his House of *Dislope*, and at another which he had at the *Glen of Ogilvie*; but when he knew of their coming against him, he was obliged to retire, not being near their Number, rather knowing that these Dragoons were so well inclined to your Service, as their Behaviour shewed thereafter; but at this Time they were not come to understand one another, and so knew not their Intentions. A few Days afterwards M——y himself came into the Country with eight Hundred Foot, the *Colchester* Regiment of Horse, and four Troops of Dragoons, which forced D——e to retire yet farther

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ther *Northward* to Duke G——'s Coun-  
 try, where the Earl of D———  
 met him with Sixty Horses; but M——y  
 being so Strong, and still pursuing him,  
 That he might not be idle, since that  
 he durst not meddle with M——y, he  
 turned from him, and by long Marches  
 through the *Highlands* came down to  
*Perth*, where the Laird of B——r was  
 lying with one of the new raised Troops,  
 and before they had any Notice, makes  
 him and some other Officers Prisoners,  
 seized all their Horses, and then march-  
 ed to *Angus*, thinking to surprize the  
 Lord R——o, who was raising ano-  
 ther Troop; they not being able to  
 March with what Expedition was re-  
 quisite, his Horses being extreamly fa-  
 tigated by the long Marches he had  
 made, for at that Time there was no  
 Grass in the Fields, Lord R——o had  
 account of B——r's Misfortune, and so  
 had Time to escape. Then he marched  
 to the *Highlands*, that he might meet  
 with the *Clans* in *Lochaber*, where  
 they all met him, or sent Assurances of  
 their readiness to join with him for your  
 Majesty's Service, except the Laird of  
 M———h.

Some

Some Days after the Viscount of Dundee took two Expresses going from M——y to Colonel R——y, with Orders to come up through Arbole and joyn him; thus seeing he was like to be environ'd, chus'd rather to attack one of them before they joyned together, and having gathered about Two Thousand Men of Foot, with the few Horses he had, marched straight against Colonel R——y who had a commanded Party of Twelve Hundred Foot of the chief of all their Army; but as soon as he had notice of D——e's coming against him, immediately retired with that Haste and Disorder, that he blew up all his Ammunition, and marched Night and Day till he was out of that Country. D——e not being able to overtake him came and stay'd some days at *Badenoch*, where he got the Alarm that M——y was coming to attack him; That he might know the better the Enemies Strength and Motions, he went with a small Party to view them, leaving the Horse to the Earl of D———n, and the Foot to L——ll, who hearing the Enemy were strong in Horse, which is the only thing that terrifies the *Highlanders*, he drew off from the Ground D——e left him on

to a stronger ; but when he came back to draw up his Men to attack M——y, thinking to find them where he left them, they were so far from it, that the Day was spent before they could come in sight of M——y, and before next Morning he was decamped, otherwise its like D——e would have given a good account of him : Thereafter to have drawn M——y to an Engagement, he marched to the Castle of *Rivan* in *Badenoch*, into which M——y had lately put a Garrison, and summon'd the Governour to render the Place, this was on the 29th of *May* ; at first he refused, but when he saw all things ready to attack, he desired to Capitulate, and after some Formalities render'd the Place, which D——e immediately order'd to be burnt. Afterwards he march'd on to find out M——y, and was not a little encouraged to it by a Message he got from the Regiment of *Scots* Dragoons which had been Commanded by the Earl of D——e, by which they assured him of their readiness to obey his Orders ; before they left *England* the Soldiers of the Regiment intended to have all quitted, or done as his own Regiment of Horse did ; but  
being

being assured by some of their Officers, and particularly by Captain M——y (in whom they had great Confidence) that the Officers only intended to keep together for your Service, and that they never resolved to serve the Prince of Orange.

They were perswaded and came down to Scotland, and embraced the first opportunity of shewing their Intentions, but the matter was unfortunately discover'd by Captain F—— who had been Commander of the Castle of *Riverton*, and who, in the way, had seen one P——/ who was sent from the Officers coming back from my Lord D——e, this he informed M——y of as well as D——e's March, which occasion'd him presently to decamp, so that next Morning when he thought to have found D——e where P——/ had informed him that he lay, he got notice he had marched all the Night, and was got the length of *Balvenny*; my Lord D——e to get betwixt him and the Low-Country marched up *Glenlivet* and turned down *Strathdon*; but M——y getting an account of his March from *Gordon* to *Edinglassie*, retired with all the haste he could, and D——e pursued  
so

so fast, that about Four in the Afternoon he came in sight of *M—y*, but that Place being so full of Hills and other difficulties, it was almost Eleven at Night before he got up with him, and having marched in the dark of the Night he lost sight of him again, and before next Morning he was twelve Miles off; *D—e* finding his Horse extremely fatigued and his Men wearied, went into *Edinglassies* Parks to refresh them, where he did not lie above two Days, when he had Intelligence from Prisoners taken, and likewise from Officers of the *Scots* Dragoons, that *M—y* was on his March backward to him being strengthened by Colonel *R—y*'s Dragoons, and an *English* Regiment of Foot, and being stronger in Horse, *D—e* was obliged to retire, keeping always a strong Rear Guard as well from hindering his Men from Rabbling as for any apprehensions he had of *M—y*, who made but very small Marches; notwithstanding of all his Care and strict Commands, it was impossible to keep the *Highlanders* from plundering, so that Eighteen or Twenty of them were taken and immediately hanged by *G—n* of *Edinglassie* on the first tree he found.

Thus

Thus Marching towards *Badenoch* on the side of the River *Spey*, they met Two Hundred of Sir *J—n M—s* Men coming to joyn with him, who that Night were like to be cut off by Three Hundred *English* Dragoons, who were close on them before they knew they were Enemies; but as soon as they perceived them, they threw away their Plaids, as their Custom is, and run up to a Hill, where they drew up; he who Commanded the Dragoons finding he could no ride up the Hill, ordered them to light and go up on Feet, which the *Highlanders* no sooner perceived, but with Sword in Hand fell down upon them, killed Fourteen and a Captain, and put the rest to Flight, and thereafter came and joyned *D—e*, who was Marching to *Lochaber*; on the way he met Sir *A—r M—n*, who had brought out of *Argyleshire* Two Hundred Men, most of them belonging to *L—e M—*; and *G—y*, before he came to *Lochaber*, he dismiss the most part of his *Highlanders* (that Country not being able to maintain them) except those who came along with Sir *A—r M—n*, they being far from their own Country, and such as he kept by him of Horse and

and Foot, he punctually payed out of his own Pocket, and kept so good Order, that the Country was extremely well satisfied and friendly to him; all the time he stayed there was about two Months. M——y finding he could do nothing against him in *Lochaber*, went back and dismissed his Troops to refresh them in a Summer Quarter; thus each of them pursued and fled according to their present Condition and Strength by turns.

During the Adjournment of the Convention, all appeared very quiet, tho' at that time, Humours and Discontents began to arise among themselves; the Prince of *Orange* not being able to satisfy the Pretensions and Avarice of them all, and those that had appeared early for his Interest, and had been the chief Instruments of raising the Rabble in *Edinburgh*, and had shown their Zeal for him in the Convention, thought they had better Pretensions than those who came over with him, they having only acted what they had done out of Necessity, being for the most part forfeited Persons.

The Prince of *Orange*, till he got his Business done, managed both Parties,  
so

so that each believed he had all to expect; but after the Convention, they quickly found their mistake, for not only his own Inclinations were so, for those that came over with him, but bent me entirely for them, and got the Lord M—— a Creature of his own, made sole Secretary of State for Scotland, and the Council named, as he had a Mind, at least of such as he knew, if they could do him no good they could signify as little against him, by which his Power would be the greater.

In it were named some, more for show of their Families, than any kindness for their Persons, or esteem for their Parts; such as the Marquis of D——, Earl of M——, Earl M——, Earl of E——, and Earl of E——, who tho' they were not Fanaticks, yet were sure not to contradict any thing that was to be done; yet this dissatisfied extremely the Presbyterians, who now thought they should have been admitted, but such as had given Proof of their Conversion, and so intrag'd several that had Pretensions, particularly Sir J——, M——, who thought

N

no-

nothing less due to his Mérit than to be Secretary; Duke H—— was little better satisfied to see that all the Employments were neither at his Disposal, nor given to his Children and Friends, for whom he had made so many fruitless Attempts; both in your Brother's Reign, and in your own. But the Discontents and Jealousies were generally known; yet they did not publicly declare against one another, till at the first Session of their Parliament, in June 1689, where Duke H—— was Commissioner, and the Earl of C——d President. In it they confirmed all that the Convention had done, declared Episcopacy a Grievance, and made a new Oath of Allegiance, and made all the Episcopal Clergy to pray for the Prince of O——e as King, and the Princess as Queen, under Pain of losing their Benefices.

A Bill was brought in and presented by the Earl of M——, for incapacitating all those who had Employments in the late Civil Government, from having any ever again; but this comprehended so many of themselves, that it was

was thought fit to lay it aside, nor was there much Notice taken of it by any Party, all knowing it could not be his own Deed, but put upon him by some that thought so Poor a Creature a good Instrument, being a Man of Quality, to try how it would take, they were thus busie in your Parliament about the middle of July. The Lord M——, Son to the Marquis of A——le, went up to the Highlands, where his Father's Interest lay, and raised about twelve Hundred Men, pretending only to look after the Peace of the Country; but B——ne, a Gentleman of the Name of S——t, found out his Intentions, and gave Notice of it to the Viscount of D——e. This Gentleman, tho' he had always been a Dependant upon the Marquis of A——le, yet preferred his Duty to your Majesty, to any Obligation he had to that Family, and by the Viscount of D——e's Order, he put himself in the Castle of Blair, and when my Lord M——y required him to deliver it up, he answer'd, That he kept it by the General's Orders for the King's Service; but not finding himself in a Condition to reduce the Place, sent to

M---y to let him know his House was  
 kept out against him, and desired his  
 Assistance, which made M---y draw to-  
 gether as quickly as he could possibly  
 about four thousand Foot, and two  
 Troops of Horse, and marched straight  
 forward to *Arbole*, D---ee, saw well  
 the Consequence of losing that Place;  
 for if once reduced, all other Intelli-  
 gence, with any part in the Highlands,  
 would be cut off, and that Country  
 rendered incapable to assist, whom he  
 confided most in of all the Highlands:  
 Therefore, to prevent it, he ordered a  
 Randevouse of all the Clans, and got  
 together near two thousand Foot, and  
 the few Horse he had kept together,  
 and having already wrote several times  
 to my Lord M---y without any return,  
 he sent Major W---m G---m, and  
 Capt. R---y, to lay before him the  
 Honour and Advantage he might pro-  
 cure to himself and Family if he would  
 heartily joyn with him for your Ma-  
 jesty's Service, and how easie it would  
 be for them to reduce all your Ene-  
 mies in *Scotland*; for if they got but  
 the least Advantage of your Enemies,  
 and succeeded, all the World should  
 know

know your Majesty owed such a Service to him only; but if he refused this favourable Opportunity at his Door; he was a little moved with both these Arguments, and would not so much as see these Gentlemen, nor give them an Answer.

These Men he had raised were of another Humour, and began to suspect, by his refusing to see these Gentlemen, that his Designs were not for your Majesty's Service: So all with one Voice desired to know his Resolutions, and that if he would joyn with *Dumars*, they would all follow him; and if otherwise, they would quit him.

The great Subjection which the Heads of Clans had over their Vassals, made him believe he would reduce them with Threatnings; but they continued firm to their Resolutions, and perceiv'd plainly his Intentions: So they filled their Bonnets with Water, and drank your Health, and so left him.

He went straight and met *M——y*, and gave him an Account of the Condition

dition of that Country, and what had befallen him. Just as the Viscount of D—ee was going down to *Athole*, Major General C—n came from *Ireland* with three hundred Men newly raised. Their Arrival would have been very seasonable, if two Accidents had not happened, which did D—ee, by their coming, more harm than good. 1. He had been daily promised by the Earl of M—t, that a considerable Body, both of Horse and Foot, should be sent with Ammunition, and all other Necessaries, which they were in great Want of, by which many of the best Gentlemen, that had followed him for several Weeks, had not seen Bread, Salt, nor Drink, except Water. Instead of this, the Clans saw all their Expectations reduced to three hundred Men, who were in as great Want as themselves, which discouraged them extreamly. Next, the Loss of some Provisions, as Bread, Beer, and Cheese, which was coming to them, Col. C—e, having made the Ships (in which it was) lie too long at *Mull*, so that the *English* Friggots came and took them; but notwithstanding of these Discouragements, my Lord

D ——— e

D——— resolved to succour the Castle of Blair.

So about the End of July, he marched to Athole, when he came to the Castle, he called a Council of War, having had Intelligence that M———y was entering by a narrow Passage into that Country called Killobankie, many of these Clans, and other Officers, were maintaining that Pass that M———y should not enter that way, because they thought themselves not yet strong enough to encounter him: And that their great Randevouse was only to be in two Days after, when they would be much stronger. But D——— soon convinced them, that, in all Appearance, he had a very fair Opportunity, M———y having only then two Troops of Horse with him; but, if he delayed, he would quickly bring up the *English* Dragoons, which is the only thing the Highlanders are afraid of: So it was resolved on, to let M———y enter the Pass, and fight him at the Disadvantage of double their Number, rather than to stay till his Cavalry joyned with him. M———y having ordered

dered his Battle all on one Line with-  
 out any Reserve, and having drawn up  
 his Field Batallions only three Men  
 deep, which made a very long Front,  
 my Lord D---e perceiving this, was  
 necessitate to change his Order of Bat-  
 tle, and to enlarge his Interval, that  
 he would not be too much outwing'd.  
 This consumed a great Part of the  
 Afternoon; but having put all things  
 in as good Order as he could, march-  
 ed down to attack the Enemy. The  
 Highlanders endured their Fire with  
 a great deal of Courage, without once  
 firing till they were close upon them,  
 and then they delivered their Fire,  
 and presently thereafter, with Sword  
 and Targe in hand, they broke in  
 among them; and they not being  
 used with this way of fighting, fell  
 into such a Consternation, that they  
 defended themselves but faintly. My  
 Lord D---e charged upon the few  
 Horses he had: The *English* Horse  
 ran at first without firing hardly a  
 Shot: So he ordered his Horse to fol-  
 low him to attack their Cannon, and  
 W---m N---e, who had produced his  
 Commission only that Morning, to be

A Colonel of a Regiment of Horse, got the Command to the great dissatisfaction of the Earl of D——n, and many other Gentlemen who thought themselves injured, yet had that respect for your Majesty's Service as to make no dispute for it at so critical a time; he marched at so slow a pace after my Lord D———e, that when he was come near the Cannon, he found himself alone, which made him call for them to advance more quickly; but Sir W———m not being too forward, the Earl of D———n, who was only riding Volunteer, rode out of the Ranks and followed with about Sixteen other Gentlemen, beat the Enemies from the Cannon, and took them before the rest of the Horse came up; when D———e saw the Cannon taken, the Enemies Horse fled, and his Horse broke in thro' M———y's own Regiment, he rode up to bring down Sir D———d M———d's Regiment, who had not shown so great Resolution as the rest of the *Highlanders*, and unhappily by the way received a shot in his Right Side immediately below his Armour; he strove to Ride off a little, but was not able,

and fell from off his Horse, tho' the *Highlanders* had charged with admirable Courage, making the Enemy run where-ever they came; yet they were so overcome by the Spoil, that so soon as they came among the Enemies Baggage, they stop'd there, and by that lost the fruit of the Victory; for by this means *M——y* and severals others escap'd, which was impossible for them to have done, if they had been quickly perceived; besides, there were two Regiments, *viz.* Colonel *H——s*, and Lord *L——s*, who had been but little engaged; if these had had Resolution, they might easily have fallen upon the *Highlanders* while they were intent about the Spoil, and so quite changed the Fate of the Day, but both neglected their Opportunities; these two Regiments were in such a Consternation that they knew not what to do, but took the benefit of the Darkness of the Night to March off and make their Escape, though many of them fell by the way, being Attack'd by some of the *Athole* Men as they were

were passing *Killicrankie*; ~~M—g—y~~  
 fled towards *Sterling*, and he ar-  
 rived there next Day with not a-  
 bove Two Hundred of his Men;  
 he lost above Two Thousand on the  
 Spot, and about Five Hundred were  
 taken Prisoners. Never was there a  
 more entire Victory gained, yet your  
 Affairs, I must say, suffered Prejud-  
 ice by it, considering the great loss  
 of the Viscount of *D—e*, who  
 was the Man most proper for any  
 such Undertaking in the Nation,  
 for he very well understood the  
 different Tempers of those he had  
 to deal with, and knew well when,  
 and to whom it was fit to shew  
 kindness, and also when to use  
 Roughness without Severity; and  
 though he was naturally more spa-  
 ring of his Money than profuse, yet  
 where-ever your Majesty's Service or  
 Ambition prompted, he stuck at no  
 O 2 thing,

thing, but distributed frankly whatever he could Command, which gained him intirely the Hearts of those who followed him, and brought him into such a Reputation, that if he had survived that Day, in all probability he would have given such a turn to your Affairs, that the Prince of Orange could neither have gone nor sent into Ireland; by which your Majesty would have been intire Master of that Kingdom, and in a Condition to have Landed what Forces you pleas'd in Scotland, which was the only thing all your Friends most desired.

Next Day after the Fight, an Officer riding by the Place where my Lord D—e fell, found lying there a bundle of Papers and Commissions which he had about him, those who stripped him thought them but of  
small

small Concern, that they left them there lying; this Officer a little after, did show them to severals of your Friends, among which there was one Paper did no small prejudice to your Affairs, and would have done much more had it not been carefully suppress'd; it was a Letter of the Earl of M—t's to my Lord D—e, when he sent him over your Majesty's Declaration, in which was contained not only an Indemnity but a Tollerance for all Perswasions; this the Earl of M—t believed would be checking to D—e considering his great Hatred to Fanaticks, for he writes, that notwithstanding of what was promised in your Declaration, Indemnity and Indulgence, yet he had Couched things so that you would break them when you pleas'd, nor would you think your self obliged to stand to them; this not only dissatisfied him, but also  
many

many of your Friends, who thought  
 a more Ingenious way of dealing bet-  
 ter both for your Honour and Interest.  
 Never were Men in such a Conster-  
 nation as Duke *H—* and the rest  
 of the Parliament then at *Edinburgh*,  
 when they heard from these that fled  
 of the Defeat of *M—y*, some were  
 for retiring into *Ireland*, others into  
 the *Western* Shires of *Scotland*, nor  
 knew they whether to abandon the  
 Government, or stay a few days un-  
 til they saw if my Lord *D—e* came  
 nearer, for they never imagined he  
 was kill'd; then they consider'd to  
 set at Liberty all Prisoners, or to  
 make them more close; the last was  
 resolved on. So we were all shut  
 up, but though all Liberty was dis-  
 charged us of seeing our Friends, yet  
 we never had so many Visits of your  
 Enemies, all making Excuses for  
 what had passed, protesting they al-  
 ways

ways wished us well, as we should see whenever they had the opportunity.

The Fright of those who fled, augmented their own Loss, for Colonel L——r, and several others to excuse themselves told all was cut off, when a few Days after, severals came to *Edinburgh*, who they said had been killed, and there being no noise of the Viscount of D——e's advancing forward, they began to take little more Heart, and soon after they got notice of his Death, which put them out of all Apprehension; for they knew very well there was none in the Army, could make use of the Victory, which soon appeared after that Colonel C——n took the Command on him, and he not only delayed Marching down the Country for several Days, but the first thing he undertook failed, and his Party baffled, and severals of them killed and

and made Prisoners, only occasioned  
by loss of time.

When he came to *Dunkell* he had  
Intelligence that the Enemy had left  
some Provisions at *St. Johnston*, so he  
Commanded a Party to go and bring  
what was necessary for them.

*M——y* had notice sent him at  
*Sterling* from the Laird of *W——m*, of  
*D——e's* Death, and the bad Or-  
der the *Highland* Army was in,  
whereupon he presently marched with  
about Three Thousand Horse and  
Dragoons towards *St. Johnston*; *C——n's*  
Party were then in the Town, and  
done all they came for, so were sur-  
prised; notwithstanding of this hard  
beginning, *C——n* got together  
Three Thousand Men and Horses,  
and would have gotten many more  
had it not been for this unlucky un-  
dertaking at the beginning of his  
Command. After

After this, *M——y* advanc'd toward *C——n*, who not daring to meet such a Body of Horse in the plain Country, was oblig'd to take himself to the Mountains, making round the Skirts of the Highlands, while *M——y* was marching on the plain Ground every Day in Sight of the other, and exchanging Bravado's to fight; but the one durst as little go up to the high Ground as the other durst venture down to the Plain; at this rate they kept together for a Month's Time, until *C——n* got Intelligence, that twelve hundred of these call'd *Cameronians* were come to *Dankell* with a Design to destroy the Country of *Athol*, he march'd back with all haste to them, and before they had any Notice of his March, was so near them, that they could not retire, but were forc'd to get into the *M——s* of *A——l's* House to defend themselves, which they could never been able to do, had not Collonel *C——n* committed great Oversights, for when he came to fire his Cannons against the Place, he had not so many Balls as Cannons, (altho' there were many taken, with *M——y's* Cannon at *Killicrankie*) This did so encourage the

*Cameronians*, that notwithstanding their Commander C——d was killed, who was extreamly brave, yet they continued to defend themselves so well, that Collonel C——n was forc'd to retire for Want of Ammunition as well as Cannon-Ball, with great Loss both of his Men and Reputation ; from that Time the Highlanders were much discourag'd, and the Season of the Year far advanc'd, most of them went home, the *Irish* and some Gentlemen remaining, who had join'd with him, and knew not where to retire.

Thus all the Hopes of your Friends were quickly dashed and your Enemies more and more encourag'd, and so had Leisure to finish their Session of Parliament, which notwithstanding ended with so little Satisfaction to all Parties in it, that most of them ran to *London*, some to complain that these Things had not been perform'd, that the P——e of O——e promis'd when he came to the Crown, others to defend themselves, for there were great Animosities among them, particularly against the L——d S——r, who tho' always he had been Fanatick, yet was generally abhorr'd among them as they  
said

aid, being a Man neither of Religion nor Honour, besides he had comply'd with all Governments, and had taken all Oaths and Engagements that were a going for Fifty Years before, and was Contriver of Seals of them, yet never was faithful to any Party.

The Favours done by the P. of O. to the L——d S——s and his Son, and these other things not done in Parliament which he expected, made many dissatisfy'd; but to take off the Odium of the last, and to show he was not to blame for their not having all they desired in Parliament, he caus'd to be Printed all his Instructions to D——e H——n, and laid all the Fault on him, which he most patiently suffer'd, and might very well have Justify'd it, since all he had neglected to do was to satisfy the most bigoted Fanaticks, in not settling Religion as they would have it, and where about they could not agree among themselves, so it was delay'd.

The next thing was the not restoring the forfeited Estates, which indeed D. H——n thought unjust, but not the less that his Son and Brother were so much concern'd, being in Pos-

session of two of the best of them by a  
 Gift from your Majesty, but to do him  
 Justice, he was not for going such a  
 Length of Extravagancies and Cruelty  
 as these inrag'd fanatick Rebels, who  
 came over with the P. of O. which made  
 the most part of them his Enemies, un-  
 till they took a general Hatred at the  
 Lord M——. This made them join  
 together more for Interest than Inclina-  
 tion, others went up to get the Re-  
 wards of their Services, but finding  
 themselves disappointed of these Im-  
 ployments which they thought due to  
 their Merit, quite broke off from the  
 rest, tho' to cover their Design the  
 better, they continu'd still the most  
 bigotted of the Party. The Chief of  
 these were Sir J——s M——y, E——l of  
 A——e, L——d R——s, Mr. W——m  
 H——n; and Mr. J——s O——e, who  
 at first in the Convention had behav'd  
 himself very well, but by great Pro-  
 mises made him by D——e H——n,  
 he went over to him, and finding  
 himself disappointed, join'd again at  
 London, in all was propos'd him for  
 your Majesty's Service by Sir J——s  
 M——y, who manag'd the rest as he  
 pleas'd, and having got acquainted  
 with

with Mr. F——, Mr. P——, Captain W——, and some others that were in your Interest, engaged not only for himself, but for the others without their Knowledge, trusting to his Power over them. The first of his own Set he proposed his Design to, was the E—— of A—— his Brother-in-Law, whom he found very frank, as he always was, when the Change of a Party was offer'd, then the L--d R——, and lay'd before them two, the Ingratitude of the P—— of O—— in not giving you Employments, and the great Offers made by your Friends if they would return to their Duty.

He wanted not Encouragement to say so, for Mr. P—— had promis'd him all that his Ambition, Vanity, or Avarice could suggest, nor were there ever two better match'd than Mr. P—— and Sir J——'s M——y for Mr. P—— made him believe that he could dispose both of Titles, of Honour, Employments, &c. and Money as he pleas'd; and the other impos'd so far upon him, as to make him believe, he was able to turn the whole Nation with a Speech to do whatsoever he proposed.

After

After they had conferred their Affairs together and disposed of every thing according to their Fancies, they proposed their Resolutions of serving you to the E——l of A——n, then Prisoner in the Tower of *London*, who embraced it most willingly, judging it, that to get these who had been most eminent against you to come over, could not but make a considerable Interest. The next Step they made, was to send one over to your Majesty, with the Offer of their Service, and Advice how all Things should be disposed of, tho' they found a Messenger fit for their Affair (called Mr. J——s) yet they had great Difficulty how to get their Commissions, Titles of Honour and Instructions to the Parliament, worded according to Form, for none of them knew any thing of the Matter; but Sir A——n F——r who gave Doubles of all they desired to Mr. F——n, without knowing any thing of them, believing it could not be but for Your Majesty's Service, since the E——l of A——n was concern'd in it after they had dispatch'd their Messenger, with all his Instructions, and having nothing to do untill his Return, Sir J——s and Mr.

Mr. F———*n* being openly declared Enemies to the L——d M———*l*, wrote a Pamphlet which they called, *The Grievances*. It gave great Offence and broke Sir J———*s* for ever with the Prince of O——— and all his Favourites. In which was laid open all their Follies, and Breach of Promises with all the Bitterness Mr. F———*n*'s Pen was capable of, who had been in constant Use of such Undertakings for many Years.

The Winter 1689, was thus spent at *London* in their private Councils, which made the Prince of O——— so weary of both Sides, that he told D. H———*n*, that he was so much troubled about their Debates, that he wished he were a Thousand Miles from *England*, and that he were never King of it. D. H———*n*, tho' he was extremely both the Lord M———*lls* and S———*s* Enemy, who were the chief Cause of these Debates, yet they went not publickly to the Meetings of your Enemies, which was then call'd the Club, but liv'd in outward Civility with all till the Spring, that L. M———*ll* came down Commissioner while they were thus hot upon their Debates at *London*. The Council of *Scotland*, where the E. of C———*d* constantly preceded, without any Commission,

mission, was very busie with the Episcopal Clergy, who had not pray'd for the Prince and Princess of O—— as was order'd by the last Session of Parliament, a great many were summon'd before the Council, and upon their Refusal turn'd out, others who would have comply'd, and also made appear by their Defences that it was impossible for them to be inform'd of the Order in so short a Time, were likewise turn'd out.

His Zeal carrying all Things before him, and the rest complying with all that he propos'd, so that by the Council, the Rabble and their new levied Dragoons the worst of either, there were but very few in their Churches before the next Spring, save some that were willing to comply with every Thing, which rendered them contemptible even to their Enemies.

All that Winter Collonel C——n lived quietly in *Lochabbar*, your Major sent over Major General B——n next Spring, so soon as he came, there was a Meeting of all the Chief of the Clans and other Officers, who were there, to consider then what was fit to be done in that Meeting.

It

It was propos'd by some, that since they said themselves, out of all Hopes of Relief, which had been promised them, that then they should endeavour to make the best Capitulation for themselves they could. But Sir E—— C—— of *Lochyeall*, who had great Influence among the rest, got them to change that Resolution, untill first they had your Majesty's Orders, telling them that in your Brother's Service he had been reduc'd to far greater Straits then ever they were, and would never capitulate, till he got the King and General's Orders to do it, and that for his Part, he was never resolv'd to hearken to any Conditions without your Warrant, and that he believed it would be a Scandal to them in the Highlands to think of capitulating, so long as your Majesty was in *Ireland* at the Head of an Army and had so many Friends in *Britain*, who pretended to be willing to serve you, whereupon they all agreed willingly to what he had said, and it was resolv'd, that (until the Season of the Year was a little better advanc'd, and the Seed might be thrown into the Ground before they made a general Rendezvous in the Fields, and that

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their

their Friends in the Low-Countries might come and join them) Major General B———<sup>n</sup> should have a Detachment of one thousand two hundred Foot to go down to the Borders of the Low-Country to amuse the Enemy and fatigue their Troops, by alarming them in several of their Quarters. Immediately he march'd with them down *Strathspey*, and continued there without doing any thing, till they were surpris'd at *Gromdale* by Sir T———s L———<sup>n</sup> about the Beginning of *May*.

The Spring being far advanc'd, and the Money that was laid on in the then last Session of Parliament exhausted; this put the P——e of O———e to great Difficulties, either to grant the extravagant Demands urged by Sir J———s M———y and these of his Party, or to let all the Army, which consisted of near ten thousand Men, be absolutely ruin'd for want of Pay. The more the Club Party saw him streightned, the more they augmented their Pretensions, and being in this Necessity, he seem'd to yield to their Demands, sending my L——d M———t down with Instructions to grant these Things yet only in Case he could do no better,  
and

and saw eminent Danger from your Friends, which gave him a Pretext for yielding to several Things in Parliament, above his Instructions, and contrary to the P——e of O———e his Inclinations (This was after the Treachery of some of our Number that had ruin'd all) and for which he would have been in Disgrace, if the Villany of these who made the Discovery of what was intended for your Service, had not brought him of serving as a Prince of absolute Necessity; for what he hid for several Months before the Parliament had been adjourn'd from Time to Time, This put the Fanaticks and these who were to have their Estates restored in a mighty Rage, that they began to doubt of his Intentions either to establish their Religion, or to restore their Estates to them; but seeing the L- -d M———l was named Commissioner, and preparing to go down, they all took Leave, most Part very discontent.

The P———e of O———e not having it in his Power to satisfy the third Part of these Pretenders.

Having ended their Affairs at London, both Sides hastened down to Scotland, to secure their Party: Such Mem-

bers as had stay'd there, was only Sir J——s M——y, who was the chief Manager of this Party, who for some Weeks stay'd behind and imparted his Design to several of your Friends there, who so believed him and trusted so much to his Undertaking, that he had 1100 Guineas given him by Mr. A——n to advance the Interest, but the M. of A——ll, to whom Sir J——s had imparted all his Intentions, got the carrying of them down, and made his own Use of them, (as shall be made appear.) Of all that had pass'd among the Club Party at *London*, and of their Intentions to serve your Majesty, nothing was known in *Scotland* among your Friends, untill the E. of A——le and Lord R——s came down, they openly exclaim'd against the Usage they had met with from the Pr. of O——ge, but there was little Notice taken of it, considering the Unfitness of their Tempers, untill the whole Set did the same: Their Discourses made your Friends hope some Use might be made of their Divisions, and so made them live more friendly with them then formerly. The E——l of A——le, as he was always the most forward of his Party, so in this he was the  
first

first that propos'd the whole Affair to  
to the E---l of D----- and me, then  
in the Castle of *Edinburgh*. He said,  
that I, of all Men living, had least Rea-  
son to believe what he was about to  
tell me, considering how he had us'd  
me in the Convention, in leaving us a-  
bruptly and becoming the most violent  
against us; he acknowledg'd his Fault,  
and wish'd that the Blood of his Body  
could wash off the Stains of his past  
Miscarriages both to his King and  
Friends, and hop'd that these Misfor-  
tunes should for the Future serve as so  
many Beacons to warn him to avoid  
the like in Time coming, with a great  
Deal more of this Sort, which he spoke  
with so much Passion and Appearance  
of Sincerity, that we were but too soon  
taken with it, and were the more easily  
deceiv'd, as being glad to find any Re-  
turning to their Duty, he told us like-  
wise, that he intirely confided in us and  
put his Life and Fortune in our Hands,  
without pretending any Trust from us,  
only desir'd we might live in Friend-  
ship until the M-----s of A-----e, D-----e  
of Q-----y, E---l of A-----n, Viscount of  
T-----t, and Sir J-----s M-----y should  
come to Town, who would inform us  
of

of all that had passed at *London*, and since they had receiv'd your Majesty's Pardon for what was past, and now venturing their Lives to serve you, they expected all your Friends would join heartily in the common Cause to ruin the P. of O. and restore your Majesty.

A few Weeks after, the L---d D---re, and we had our Liberty, my L---d M---ll came down and all the Parliament Members met, but were adjourn'd for a Fortnight. This gave time to the Club Party to be industrious with your Friends, to come in and join with them for settling Religion and the Peace of the Nation as they pretended, for any Design for your Majesty's Service, was to be kept secret amongst a few. The Difficulties were extraordinary how to reconcile such different Interests, Tempers and Perswasions, as were that of your Friends and the Club Party, for they both in Convention and Parliament had been the most violent against your Majesty and your Friends: Besides their whole Design at the bottom, was for the Height of Violence and Oppression, for their greatest Quarrel at the P. of O. was for not suffering them to go to all the Extravagancies of their Religion  
and

and Revenge, which is so mingled together, that it is hard to know the one from the other, and they were likewise divided among themselves, for none, except J---s Lord R---s, E. of A---e, and Mr. O---e were to know of any Resolution to serve your Majesty; and D. H-----n and his Followers had no Design but the Ruin of the Lord M---l and S---s, and to get the Session fill'd with his own Creatures, having at that Time, many Law Suits in Hand, but tho' they had all different Designs, yet they all agreed in this, That nothing could be done, except your Friends could be perswaded to join, without they saw Lord M---l and S---s's Party could be too strong for them, having all the profitable Employments and Session in their Hands.

Sir J---s M-----y undertook to manage this Affair, pretending he knew the Inclination of a great many of your Friends, who would join with any Party to ruin the L. M---l and S---s and keep publick Burdens to be employ'd in Parliament, and to oblige the Pr. of O. to establish the Session, according to the Claim of Right voted in the Convention, and to have a *Habeas Corpus* and

and Freedom of Speech in Parliament. These were the Pretexrs he made Use of, which were so taking with the most Biggotted Part of them, that they doubted not to get these Acts passed, if we would join with them in all other Demands, which were to have the Presbyterian Government establish'd at its Height of Power, the King's Supremacy, and the Committee of Parliament called the Articles (which was already voted in the Convention, a Grievance) taken away, thus by the Quality of them was believed at first to be all the Design, without knowing in the least that it was only to make them dissobliged at the P. of O. if he should refuse their Demands, and to try next if your Majesty would grant them, for all Kings, just or unjust are alike to them.

To all your Friends it was very evident how great an Advantage might be had, by joining with the violent Party, for by that we thought our selves sure of breaking their Army, which consisted of about 10000 Men, and which must immediately be disbanded, when they saw the Parliament establish no Fund, neither for paying their Arrears nor Subsistence, and all have gone in  
Confusion,

Confusion, and your Majesty being then in *Ireland*, and the Highlanders in a better Disposition to rise, it were easy to make a good Use of their Disorders.

Sir J——s in the first Meeting we had with him, laid out the great Advantages your Interest could obtain if this succeeded. The Strength of his own Party, and all the Influence he had over them. He told us likewise of their sending a Messenger to your Majesty, with Assurances of their returning to their Duty, but said nothing of the Instructions, Commissions and pernicious Advices he had sent along, believing (as undoubtedly) it would have hindered us from joining with them, for by this we should have clearly seen it was only trying to make a better Bargain for themselves, made them change Parties, and not out of any Sentiments of Conviction, for having done amiss; but tho' it was very evident to us what Disorders we would make among our Enemies, and what Profit to your Party by going into the Parliament, yet to join with our mortal Enemies, only to make the one Half ruin the other, and to take the Oath of Allegiance to an Usurper, and to comply with them in Things

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that

that had always been against our Principles, were so hard to get over, that some of us had greater Difficulties to overcome them, nor even could any have done it, but the great Desire we had to be Instruments of your Majesty's Restoration and Ruin of your Enemies.

There were two Things that made us very willingly join with them, the M. of *A——ll* and the E. of *A——n* asserted your Majesty knowing the Design and approving of it, so far as to be convinced at that Time, you thought it the greatest Peice of Service could be done you ; next the Viscount of *T——t* assuring us particularly that the P. of O. was fully resolved never to grant any of these Demands, which he knew the Club Party intended to propose in Parliament. And being sure of their firm Resolution never to grant any Thing except they obtain'd all they desired, we could not doubt to obtain all we pretended, which was the Dissolution of the Parliament. Nor could it be imagin'd but Lord *T——t* wished it as well as we, though on different Motives, for then he was intirely in the P. of O's Interest, and trusted more by him than any of the Nation, insomuch that at his Coming from *Loudon* he had a  
Trust

Trust given him, that few Subjects ever had the Like, for he had a full Power to make a Cessation of Arms or Peace with the Highlanders, and to dispose of Twenty Thousand Pound Sterling, as he thought fit for the Pr. of O's Service, and three Titles of Honour to whom he pleased, and was to give Account of all that passed in Parliament, and had full Power to adjourn or dissolve as he thought fit, but tho' he had all this Trust, and might dissolve the Parliament when he pleased, yet he durst not venture it; and though he had more Enemies, there were more afraid of its Sitting then any of your Servants, yet though he could get it easier done, and with less Hazard to himself, by the high Hand of the Club Party, and which would have the same Effect to secure himself and enrage the Pr. of O. at his Enemies.

These Considerations made him take more Pains under Hand then any, to engage your Friends with the Club Party, and to get them to come to the Parliament. To some who believ'd him, he said he design'd nothing but your Service, but to others that it was for the Good of the Nation, by obtain-

ing Acts that would be so Beneficial to it, being thus made believe that your Majesty liked the Proposition, and hopes of doing what he design'd, made us resolve, notwithstanding of all our Scruples, not only to join with the Club Party, but to use all the Endeavours to perswade our Friends and all those we had any Influence upon to do the like, which succeeded as we could wish, for most part of all who had continued firm to your Interest, resolv'd to follow our Example, without desiring to know the bottom of that secret Correspondence we had with the Club Party, some there were that made Difficulty, the E. of *H--e*, the E. of *L---e*, L. *O--d*, L. *S---t*, and the Master of *B---e*, but their Reasons were out of Apprehensions of betraying and yielding to the P. of O. then any other Scruples, though I doubt but some of them had their Reasons, and so might they very justly considering how nice a Point it was; others appear'd resolv'd and engaged fairly, but when the Time of the sitting down of the Parliament drew nigh, they absented themselves which gave great Encouragement to Lord *M---ll* and all his Party to meet in Par-

Parliament, who were in such Apprehensions of Success before, that several Times he was resolv'd to dissolve it and to take a Venture of another, but when they saw that several of your Friends drew back, and had secured to themselves several Votes by dividing the Office of every Register in Six, and giving each a Vote, and one for a Thefaurer depute, and by giving Money to some, and Promises of Employments to others, they so strengthened their Party, that they again took Heart, and resolv'd then to begin their Parliament, which sat down the Day of *April*, 1690; but notwithstanding all the sinister Courses that were taken to procure Votes, never were Men in such Apprehensions and Fears as was *L——M——* and all his Friends, for they not only saw the Danger of their whole Party if they succeeded not, but immediate Ruin to themselves from the *P——e* of *O——e*, to whom they had so fairly undertaken, after that he had read over the Speech that he had got made for him, and that his President the *E——l* of *C———d* had made another, all taken from the old Prophets, which he apply'd to the Occasion, as of

*Ezra*

*Ezra* and *Nehemiah's* building again the Temple of *Jerusalem* : They brought in a Vote about the Election of a Burgh, only to know their Strength, which found above their Expectation ; they carry'd it but by six or seven, which makes a Demonstration, that if these of your Friends, which engag'd to us, had not fail'd, we had out voted them in that, and so consequently had all our Design, for it was firmly resolv'd among them, that if they had lost that Vote, tho' of no Consequence, they would have adjourn'd the Parliament next Day, but gaining it, they took Heart, and that which befell your Friends in the Convention happen'd just again, for several who pretended to be our Friends when they thought us strongest, left us immediately and join'd with the other Party ; Sir J—— M—— y also fail'd, and several also he had engag'd, for believing his Interest far greater with them than truly it was, so from that Minute we lost Hopes of doing any Good ; but seeing we had once made such a Step, we resolv'd to stay in the House, though it should be for nothing but to hinder them from going on so fast in their Design

sign of forfeiting all those who had ap-  
 pear'd for your Majesty, and the giving  
 Money as soon as they intended to sup-  
 port their Forces and Government, but  
 never Men made a more miserable Fi-  
 gure in any Meeting, than your Friends  
 did in this, after they saw themselves  
 abandon'd and outvoted in every  
 Thing, they had nothing to do but sit  
 and hear D——e H——n bawl and  
 bluster, according to his usual Custom,  
 and then acquiesced to all that was pro-  
 pos'd, and Sir J——s M——y and Sir  
 J——n D——e scolded like Kail-  
 wives, that Rogue, Villain, and Lyar  
 were their usual Terms; these two  
 were the chief Managers of both Sides,  
 Sir J——n pretending to mention the  
 King's Prerogative, Sir J——s the Li-  
 berty of the Subjects and Claim of  
 Right, and though he was never bred  
 with such Undertakings, yet with A-  
 bundance of Confidence and Eloquence  
 he manag'd the Affair, and if he had  
 but wanted, Sir J——n D——e  
 and your Friends had not been very  
 indifferent, who had lost or won; after  
 they saw all their Designs desperate, he had  
 undoubtedly put them to greater Straits,  
 for the Things he urg'd were very po-  
 pular

pular and agreeable to the Inclinations of many of the Members, notwithstanding of all Disappointments, we were still to make them break among themselves, by proposing what we thought never would be granted, but in this also we were disappointed, for my Lord M——, to justify what he and his Party had so great a Desire to do, but durst not adventure before, having got the Pretext of the eminent Danger of both the P. of O. and *Kam.* were in, by the secret Plots and Contrivances of your Majesty's Friends yielded to all that was demanded in his Instructions; he was allow'd to pass what Acts of Parliament he should think fit, and establish what Form of Government they liked best.

Several Days past without daring to mention Presbytery, though most there desir'd it, knowing that it was contrary to the P. of O's Inclinations, who fear'd the Consequence it might have in *England*, besides he liked it best to have undetermined till his Affairs were better establish'd that he might keep both Parties in Hopes; but Sir J—— in a fair set Speech, spoke out what they all wished generally, but fear'd to name,  
and

and that he knew there were Instructions for settling Religion, and he said he thought it was a Shame for that Meeting, it was not yet done, but the Reason was well known, for some among them, to flatter the Court (against their own Principles) had delay'd it, he knew likewise some were one Kind of Government some another, some were of a certain Kind of Presbytery call'd *Erastianism* like that of *Holland*; but he told them, there could not, nor ought there any to be establish'd in *Scotland*, but the Presbyterian as it was in 1648, which was the Government in the World not only according to the Word of God, but best to disturb the extravagant Power of Kings, and arbitrary Government, under which they had groan'd many Years. This Speech to us that knew his Secrets, seem'd a little extraordinary, but he excused himself by being obliged to do so, otherwise would lose all Credit with his Party, and that it signified Nothing since he knew that Lord *M*—ll never durst pass it, tho' it came to be approv'd. This Speech was approv'd by the House, and a Committee appointed to receive all the Forms of Government that should be brought be-

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fore

fore them, and to report their Opinions of them ; and 'till this was ready, they adjourn'd some days, during which, Sir J——s receiv'd from *Ireland* a Return of his Message with Mr. J——s. The first Night he open'd alone a great black Box with Papers, where all the Commissions and Instructions were, and then sent for the E. of A——le, A——n and my Lord R——s, and told them the Return of all was come, but that he believed there were several Things among them would be improper to let the D. of Q——y, E. of L——n, B——ne and me see, tho' we were only those of your Friends whom they had trusted with their Message these four Times. After they had consider'd them all, made up another Box of such as they thought fit to shew, and seal'd it, to make us believe it never had been open'd, and in a great Haste Sir J——s desired us to meet in the M. of A——le's Lodging, and after a formal Discourse of his Endeavours to serve your Majesty ever since he went up with an Offer of the Crown to the P. of O. and of the Message he had sent your Majesty, said he was now desired to meet with us to tell us, that he had got a Return, and that  
there

there was a great Bundle of Papers come over, but considering we were all of one Interest, he would not open it, nor look on any Thing till we did it all together, and intreated we might meet that Afternoon, and to shew the intire Trust he had in us, he would keep nothing that he knew from us, but would shew what he had receiv'd from the King. The E. of A-----*n* excused himself from meeting, pretending he was oblig'd to go out of Town, but the true Reason was, he thought they had cheated him in not sending for his Commission to be general, as was agreed among them at *London*. The Duke of Q-----*y* also excused himself, so that none came but the M. of A-----*le*, L-----*m*, R-----*ss*, B-----*ne* and my self; Sir J-----*s* brought in a black Box, which was a Burthen for him to carry, which I looked upon and consider'd the Seals; because I always expected a Trick from him; he told us he had brought all except a Letter from your Majesty to himself, without knowing, as he shall answer to Almighty God, what was in the Box, which none of us believ'd, for he did quite change the Pack Thread, and clapp'd on his own Seal, after he

had open'd the Box and shewn what he thought fit to bring. We were all in a great Confusion to find that we had join'd ourselves to such a Crew, that had so much Knavery to impose those Things on your Majesty, and so much Weakness to think they could bring about all your Enemies to declare for you without any Force, they were in no less Confusion then we, finding we saw their Folly in undertaking Things they had not the least Shaddow of Power to perform.

They had promised to get all the Parliament to declare for your Majesty, and immediately meet in your Name, and the E. of A——le Commissioner, who was made a Marquis, and Sir J——s made E. of A——r, L. R——s likewise an Earl, and all Employments of C. and S. and Army intirely put into their Hands, and these of their Friends were generally the greatest Enemies to Monarchy.

There were likewise great Bundles of Lettees not directed, but left to their Direction to be given to any of your Friends they thought fit to trust, which indeed we thought a little hard to be put in their Hands, who had been for fighting

fighting your Majesty, and also endeavouring to ruin us on your Account, besides what we saw, there was many other Commissions, Patents, and Remissions that were made publick by themselves, after they made their Discovery to L. M———, but tho' they were found to get these Commissions when they came, they were confounded what to do with them. To keep them, they saw there would be no use for them, and they put them in a continual Hazard, so it was resolv'd that they should be all burnt, but their Patient, next how to dispose of their Messenger put them in a great Disorder, which made the E. of L——— carry him to his House, some Miles from *Edinburgh*, where after he had stay'd some Nights, he got from him all that Sir J——s had and conceal'd, notwithstanding Sir J——s wrote to Mr. J——s not to trust any of us with his Message, but as far as he had already shewn, yet all was out before the Letter came to his Hands, besides Mr. J——s had been but a few Hours in *Edinburgh*, yet he plainly saw all Sir J——s's Projects were miserably founded, which made him beg to be imploy'd back again to  
your

your Majesty; but few of Us desir'd any more to do with Sir J——, or his Messenger, for afterwards we had little meddling with them, tho' they extreamly desir'd it, and yet we should send back Mr. J——, with a blank Sheet of Paper, subsigning to be fill'd up when he came to your Majesty with our Advice, which the D. of Q——y, L——m, B——e and my self absolutely refus'd, which almost broke us intirely with them, and the more because some of our Number comply'd with their Desires, for the E. of A——n not only did it himself, but also got the L. M——y to do it also, tho' he had not been engaged with us in any of your Concerns, but on the contrary, we look'd upon him as one of the principal Destroyers of your Affairs, both in the Highlands, and at the beginning of the Revolution. In the Highlands your Affairs had no better Success then in the Parliament, for General B——n having come too near the Enemy, Sir T——s L——n, with a Party of Dragoons surpriz'd him at *Cromdell*, kill'd about 100, made several Prisoners, and dispers'd his whole Party. When this News came to *Edinburgh* of a Defeat, your Friends then

then repented their not embracing the Offer of a Cessation of Arms made them by the P. of O. which T—— had the Management of, but not being desirous to appear above Board himself in such a Transaction, he propos'd it to the E. of B——e, with the Offer of 5000 *l.* Sterling if he could accomplish it, for the P——e of O——e was extremely desirous to have all settled before he went to *Ireland*, but the E——l of B——e would not meddle in such an Affair without the Consent of your Friends at *Edinburgh*, who at that Time would not hear of it, so the Earl of B——e very generously gave it over, tho' besides the 5000 *l.* Sterling, he had other considerable Rewards offer'd him, so after this Departure, we were all willing a Treaty might be brought on again, considering at least, it would gain Time until the Highlanders put themselves in a Posture of Defence. The Pr. of O——e was just then going to *Ireland*, which made the E. of B——e endeavour to meet him to get the Cessation ended, but he was gone before he got to him, by which the Highlanders were left to the Mercy of their Enemies, who might have ruin'd them  
if

If they had pursu'd the Victory of *Cromdell*.

Your Friends at *Edinburgh* were in no better Condition, being forc'd to sit in a Meeting in the Middle of their Enemies, and hear them establish Presbytry, and rescind all Acts that had been any Ways prejudicial to your Interest, restoring all Forfaulters and Fines (tho' transacted for) that was granted by your Brother or your Majesty; for these that serv'd you against them, and above all their forfeiting, these who appear'd for you in Arms, except Sir *Will. W—e*, who was over-look'd, tho' they had as full Probation against him as any of the rest; and to finish our Misfortunes, the Considerable of these of that Party we had join'd, not only left us, but betray'd us so soon as they saw small Probability of effectuating their own Designs, which was the only Thing they had still and all along aim'd at, and not your Service, as they pretended some Days before the Pr. of *O—e* went to *Chester*.

I had Notice given me by Mr. *O—e*, that the Lord *R—s* design'd to go to meet him and make a Discovery of all he knew; which made us send the Earl of

of *L---* to him, to try if he had such Inclinations; but he protested to the contrary with great Oaths; some were inclin'd to believe him, and others were for taking a sure Way to hinder his Discovery, since their own Lives and Estates depended on your Affairs; but it was of so dangerous a Consequence and so unjust, unless we had great Proof or Suspicion, that most of us abhor'd the Motion.

A few Days after, tho' he gave over his Journey to *Chester*, believing by what the Earl of *L---* said to him, that we suspected him, and so might have Way laid him; yet notwithstanding of all his renew'd Oaths, he sent for one Mr. *D---*, a Fanatick Minister, and reveal'd all he knew to him, and also told him, that he was under great Troubles of Conscience, and desir'd his Prayers, to enable him to open his Heart to him, after long Prayers and many Sighs and Tears, he told him all he knew; God was thank'd, as being the Effect, Mr. *D---*'s Prayers being heard.

The next Morning he sent the Minister to Lord *M---*, to tell him, that he had a Business of great Import to tell

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the Queen, for which he desir'd a Pass, and immediately had it; and before he went, he told M——l in general, that there were dangerous Matters against the King and Government, in which he had too great a Share, and for which he sought God's Pardon, but was deny'd, and was now going to seek it from the Queen, to whom he would discover all he knew, when at *London*.

The first Meeting he had with the Princess of O——e, he told her the whole Affair, and laid all the Blame on Sir J——s M——y; when she had heard all the History, she sent for the Earls of D——b and N——m, that he might tell it all over again before them; but when they came in, he deny'd all he had said to the Princess; he never thought she would make any other Use of it, than to prevent the Danger she and the King were in; but nothing ever forc'd him to give Evidence against those he had been in Friendship with; for this he was immediately sent to the *Tower*, where he lay for eight or ten Months; nor could any Thing ever induce him to say more, though he had both Threatnings and all Arguments to inforce him. It was no sooner known that Lord R——s was gone, but his Errand was made publick.

Mr.

Mr. D——p, (according to the Custom of his Profession) made no Secret of his Confession, which so much alarm'd Sir J——s M——y, that he resolv'd not to be long behind him, for he saw himself ruin'd by his violent Party he had been professing to all of them all along Principles so far to the contrary, but to make a Confession to his mortal Enemy, Lord M——l to seek Mercy from the Pr. and Princess of O. who he knew abhor'd him, were a hard Step, yet with a good Share of Confidence and Assurance of making a fine Story of it to their Advantage, he doubted not to succeed with Lord M——l, he insinuated so far as to be trusted to go to London, to tell his Business himself, and to gain the greater Credit with M——l, he put into his Hands what Letters he had receiv'd from the Queen, which was a joyful Sight to him; for from that Time they continued, he ventur'd to touch all the Acts which was believ'd he could never do, which were displeasing to the Pr. of O. tho' he was forc'd to please the Club Party to put them in his Instructions, and several for which he had no Warrant, making the eminent Danger they were in, an Ex-

cuse of all. In these Letters were several Promises of Assurance from *France*, of Men, Money and Arms ; he likewise gave up the Instructions sent to the E. of *A—e* when he shou'd be Commissioner to the Parliament, but in all their Discoveries, there was never a Word mention'd of their Patents, and Remissions were sent to Duke *H—n* and others of their Friends.

When Sir *J—s* came to *London*, he was so cautious as not to go near the Princess of *O.* till he had Assurance that in Case they could not agree in their Terms, he should not be detain'd, which was granted ; but tho' he confess'd most of all that pass'd of his Transactions with Your Majesty, yet he would neither promise to be an Evidence, nor give his Advice how Things might be prevented, which, to magnify himself he made the Hazard much greater than it was, unless he were secure of a full Pardon of all the Crimes he should name, and then have a good Employment, pretending the Lowness of his Estate, which was drawn by the Severity of the last Government. The Princess of *O.* would have willingly granted all he demanded, and wrote to the Prince of *O.*  
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in his Favour in *Ireland*; but some Things had pass'd betwix the Pr. of O. and Sir J—es in private, which made the Prince to have such an Abhorrence of him, that he could not hear of employing him, a Remission he would have granted upon Condition of his being an Evidence; but that could not do Sir J—s's Business, so he absented, and a few Months after did all he could again to justify himself to your Friends, which took not with a few. The Earl of A—e quickly follow'd Sir J—s; yet went not to *London*, but liv'd privately at the *Bath*, which, when it was known, there was a Warrant sent down to bring him up; but on Mr. —, who had been Mayor of the Town, help'd him to escape. When he was come to *London*, Mr. F—n maintain'd him privately for several Weeks; at last, he, wearied of lurking, and sent for Mr. L—t, whom Lord M—ll kept then at *London*, to do Business in his Absence, he told of the Mayor of *Bath*, and of Mr. F—n, that had entertain'd him, and sign'd a Confession the most scandalous that any Thing of the Name of a Gentleman ever did, for he not only told what had pass'd among  
us

us in publick, but private Conversations he had with several of your Friends, and likewise of *Payne* all that had pass'd betwixt them at first Meeting, for which Mr. P---e was put to the Torture, and endured it with great Courage and Constancy, and that which made his Part more base was, after Mr. P---e had escaped out of Prison, fled to *Scotland*, thinking he would be secure with the E. of A——le, he came to a Country House and was taken there by A——le's own Servants, and brought to *Edinburgh*, where (upon the E. of A——le's Confession against him in *England*) he suffer'd the uttermost Barbarity. The Treachery of these three made all our Friends at *Edinburgh* so concern'd, tho' they were not fully inform'd of their Hazard, that most of them left it,



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